

Read
Sept 14/1

The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

A Quarterly

Vol. LXI, No. 1

October, 1955

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

BOX 2-W, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA • 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

10 SOUTH AUDLEY STREET, LONDON, W. 1

* * * * * *Board of Editors* * * * * *

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON	LOUIS GOTTSCHALK	JAMES B. HEDGES
JOHN D. HICKS	LOREN C. MACKINNEY	DAVID E. OWEN
<i>Managing Editor</i>		<i>Assistant Editor</i>
BOYD C. SHAFER		CATHARINE SEYBOLD

Reviews of Books

General History

<i>Nicolson</i> , THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMATIC METHOD, by Louis J. Halle . . .	88
<i>Marcondes de Souza</i> , AMERIGO VESPUCCI E SUAS VIAGENS; AMERIGO VESPUCCI NEL V CENTENARIO DELLA NASCITA, by Charles E. Nowell . . .	89
<i>Fuller</i> , A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD, II, by Richard M. Leighton . . .	90
<i>Nef</i> , LA NAISSANCE DE LA CIVILISATION INDUSTRIELLE ET LE MONDE CON- TEMPORAIN, by David S. Landes . . .	91
<i>Benoist-Méchin</i> , LE LOUP ET LE LÉOPARD, by Roderic H. Davison . . .	93
DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1952; <i>Calvocoressi</i> , SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1952, by Thomas P. Brockway . . .	94

Ancient and Medieval History

<i>Momigliano</i> , CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI, by Stewart C. Easton . . .	96
<i>Starr</i> , CIVILIZATION AND THE CAESARS, by W. F. McDonald . . .	97
DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS, No. 8, by Peter Charanis . . .	98
<i>Barlow</i> , THE FEUDAL KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, 1042-1216, by Coen G. Pierson . . .	99
<i>Callus</i> , ROBERT GROSSETESTE, SCHOLAR AND BISHOP, by Richard C. Dales . . .	100
<i>Buisson</i> , KÖNIG LUDWIG IX., DER HEILIGE, UND DAS RECHT, by Joseph R. Strayer . . .	101
<i>Richard</i> , LES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE ET LA FORMATION DU DUCHÉ DU XI ^e AU XIV ^e SIÈCLE, by Bryce D. Lyon . . .	102
<i>Verbruggen</i> , DE KRIJGSKUNST IN WEST-EUROPA IN DE MIDDELEEUWEN, by John H. Beeler . . .	103

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to all its members; annual dues are \$7.50; applications for membership should be sent to the Executive Secretary, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D.C. (For further information, see American Historical Association advertisement following last page of text.)

Subscriptions, without membership, may be sent to The Macmillan Company, Box 2-W, Richmond 5, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11. The price of subscription is \$7.50 a year; single numbers are sold, by The Macmillan Company, for \$2.00.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or of opinion, made by contributors.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the Review, and books for review, should be sent to the Managing Editor, Boyd C. Shafer, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D.C.

COPYRIGHT 1955, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Second-class mail privileges authorized at Richmond, Virginia

* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

Vol. LXI, No. 1

October, 1955

Articles

ENGLISH EMIGRATION ON THE EVE OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Mildred Campbell

I

THE RSDLP AND JOSEPH FELS: A STUDY IN
INTERCULTURAL CONTACT

Arthur P. Dudden and Theodore H. von Laue

21

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL, 1898-1901

J. A. S. Grenville

48

Notes and Suggestions

THE AFTERMATH OF THE RISORGIMENTO IN
FOUR SUCCESSIVE INTERPRETATIONS

H. Stuart Hughes

70

THE BALTIMORE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION
OF PAUPERISM, 1820-1822

Blanche D. Coll

77

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)

88

Other Recent Publications

155

Historical News

244

WRITINGS of *real intellectual worth that have not been available in recent years will again be published as titles in this new series. Great Seal Books will include works*



Great Seal Books

A DIVISION OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS, ITHACA, N. Y.

The United States in 1800

By HENRY ADAMS (1838-1918)

The first six chapters of Henry Adams' great *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, as here reissued, constitute a remarkable piece of social history. Adams' dry wit and canny feeling for the significant illuminates his account of America just before the forces of technology entered the scene.

As Dexter Perkins of Cornell University says in the Prefatory Note: "No part [of the *History*] is more remarkable than the essays on social history which constitute the six opening chapters reproduced in this little volume. . . . [Adams] has few, if any, superiors in the history of American historiography."

142 pages. Paper. \$1.25

The "Higher Law" Background of American Constitutional Law

By EDWARD S. CORWIN, *McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, Emeritus, Princeton University*

"This exploration of the remote sources of the Constitution," writes Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University in the Prefatory Note of this essay, "has been one of the most universally admired and heavily used essays in constitutional law and Ameri-

Order from your bookstore or from Great Seal Books, 124 Roberts Place,

in the humanities, social sciences, and the sciences. The first three titles under the new imprint are described below; watch for further announcements in coming months.

Great Seal Books

A DIVISION OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS, ITHACA, N. Y.



can political thought. The reasons for the continued respect in which it is held are visible on its face. It is learned. . . . It is eloquent. . . . Above all, it is humbling: No one can come away from reading it without realizing how much we in America are a part of Western civilization."

101 pages. Paper. \$.95

Are Men Equal?

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANING OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. *By HENRY ALONZO MYERS, Late Professor of English, Cornell University*

This sensitive and urbane book by Professor Myers is now again available. In it he discusses the idea of the equality of man as expressed by such men as Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Jefferson, Lincoln, Edward Bellamy, Justice Holmes, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and others. Upon its original publication during World War II, *Are Men Equal?* was widely praised as being a heartening exposition of the philosophy of democracy.

One review (in the Hartford Courant) referred to the book as follows: "What [Professor Myers] has to say is probably the most significant pronouncement of today on the democratic implications of this profoundly meaningful concept."

192 pages. Paper. \$1.45

Ithaca, N. Y. Great Seal Books is a division of Cornell University Press.

EUROPE from the Renaissance to Waterloo

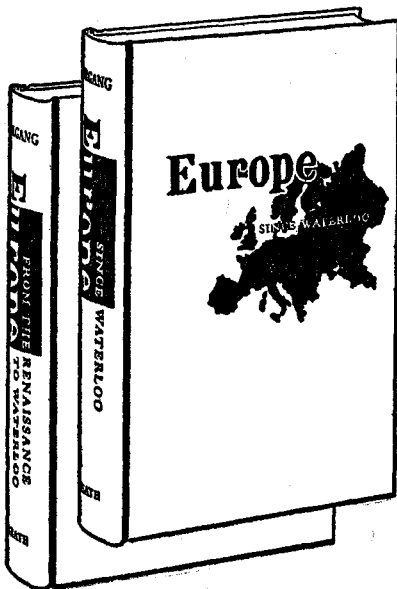
847 pages. \$6.25

EUROPE since Waterloo

856 pages. \$6.25

TWO COMPANION VOLUMES BY **ROBERT ERGANG**

Over 160 Colleges Adopting Since Publication (Spring 1954)

*Representative adoptions for both volumes:*

U. of Arkansas	Concordia Collegiate Institute
U. of Denver	N. Y. State Col. for Teachers, Albany
Howard U.	Queens Col. (N. Y.)
U. of Illinois	Marietta Col.
Northwestern U.	Miami U.
The Principia Col.	Muskingum Col.
Wright Branch, Chicago City Jr. Col.	Drexel Institute of Technology
Buena Vista Col.	The Citadel
Southwestern Col.	Roanoke Col.
Kentucky Wesleyan Col.	State Col. of Washington
U. of Louisville	Marshall Col.
Michigan State Normal U.	Potomac State Col.
Western Michigan Col. of Education	West Virginia Institute of Technology
St. Cloud S.T.C. (Minn.)	U. of Wisconsin
Col. of St. Thomas	Wyoming Community Col.
St. Louis U.	
U. of Nebraska	
Colgate U.	

*Representative adoptions of
RENAISSANCE
TO WATERLOO:*

Pomona Col.
Michigan State Col.
Col. of the City of N. Y.
U. of Cincinnati
Ohio U.
U. of Oklahoma
U. of Pennsylvania
Temple U.

*Representative adoptions of
SINCE
WATERLOO:*

U. of Colorado
Mercer U.
Loyola U. (Ill.)
U. S. Naval Academy
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
New York U.
Woman's Col., U. of N. C.
Washington and Lee U.

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

Home Office: Boston 16

Sales Offices: New York 14 Chicago 16 San Francisco 5
Atlanta 3 Dallas 1

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

John D. Hicks

University of California at Berkeley

THE AMERICAN NATION

THIRD EDITION

Geoffrey Bruun

Henry Steele Commager

**EUROPE AND AMERICA
SINCE 1492**

WESTERN CIVILIZATION
AND ITS WORLD INFLUENCE

Benjamin Keen

West Virginia University

**READINGS IN
LATIN-AMERICAN CIVILIZATION**

1492 TO THE PRESENT

Luis Leal

University of Mississippi

**MÉXICO—
CIVILIZACIONES Y
CULTURAS**

The significant highlights of the whole cultural
picture—in Spanish!

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

HOWARD R. SMITH, University of Georgia

Employing an unusual narrative-chronological development, this book discusses the most significant economic aspects of American history. After the adoption of the Constitution, each chapter takes up a short period in the sequence of administrations to present a basic picture of

our growing economy. Touches upon the important figures of each era; interprets problems, and shows their causal forces. *"A welcomed new approach. . . ."* Rev. Hugh J. Wilt, *St. Vincent College*. 168 ills., tables; 763 pp. \$6

THE UNITED STATES

—A Survey of National Development

OSCAR THEODORE BARCK, JR., Syracuse University; WALTER L. WAKEFIELD, Potsdam State Teachers College; and HUGH TALMAGE LEFLER, University of North Carolina

With clarity, balance, and perception, this college textbook traces from their origins this country's cultural and regional growth; her diplomacy and international affairs; her economic, social, and political development. *"Logically organized, objectively treated, and*

interestingly written." George C. Osborn, *University of Florida*. Vol. I—Through 1865, 43 ills., 15 maps; 526 pp. \$4. Vol. II—From 1865, 23 ills., 11 maps; 585 pp. \$4. Single volume edition, \$6.50

THE AMERICAS IN HISTORY

HAROLD E. DAVIS, The American University

This factual account explores the political, social, and cultural history of the New World nations from preconquest days to the present in light of similar, shared experiences and problems. Analyzes the effects of colonialism, revolution and independence, industrialism, in-

ternationalism, etc., upon the American peoples to indicate a basic unity that underlies apparent diversities. *"It is more than a 'survey'; it is a masterful treatment."* Education. 26 maps, tables; 878 pp. \$7.50

A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT

JOHN FRED BELL, University of Illinois

In tracing the evolution of economic thought from antiquity to the present, this study chronologically analyzes and evaluates the principal doctrines and economic schools, and discusses their in-

fluence on national policies while relating them to current problems. *"The author achieves a remarkably well balanced and complete piece of work."* The Historian. 696 pp. \$6.50

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

W. STANFORD REID, McGill University

Surveys the economic history of the British Isles from its beginning to the present; emphasizes the period since 1715. Book includes detailed discussions of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales in relation to the British economy as a whole. Re-

lates trends to political, philosophical, and religious thought. Traces the causes of Britain's recent difficulties. *"... told with historical imagination, in a style concrete and clear."* General Economic Review. 8 maps; 557 pp. \$6

The Ronald Press Company

EMPIRE ON THE PACIFIC

A Study in American Continental Expansion

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER, *Iowa State College*

Just Published. A fascinating study of the motives behind American continental expansion and the development of California and the Pacific Northwest during the 1840's. The author brings forward overwhelming evidence to support the interpretation, unaccountably neglected by historians, that our acquisition of 1300 miles of Pacific coastline was the result of a conscious political policy—to open up the Pacific for promotion of American-Oriental trade.

While crediting agrarian pioneers with arousing interest in Oregon and California, Dr. Graebner traces the germ of our "Pacific Empire" to the plan of President Polk and his advisors for the gain of three major Pacific ports: San Diego Bay, San Francisco Bay, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The author provides revealing insights into the 54° 40' issue, our part in the Mexican War, the Trist Mission, and other contemporaneous political events. *7 maps; 278 pp.* **\$4.50**

JAPAN'S MODERN CENTURY

HUGH BORTON, *Columbia University*

Ready this month. The kaleidoscopic story of Japan over the past 100 years—a period in which she emerged from semi-feudalism, borrowed and adapted from the West, gained and lost an empire in East Asia, and arrived at her present position as an industrialized state of 87 million people.

Drawing on recent sources and his own experience in helping to shape postwar Japanese policy under the Occupation, the author charts the difficult course of Japan's transformation in a readable, narrative style. Emphasizing political, economic, social, and international factors in proportion to their shifting importance over the years, he reinterprets the fundamental questions of the past and poses the complex issues which face Japan today. Includes maps which trace the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire, short biographical sketches, and chronologies. *12 pages of illustrations, 13 tables, 8 maps; 525 pp.* **\$7**

15 East 26th Street, New York 10, New York



A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

From the Beginnings to the Present

by HUBERT HERRING, *Pomona College*

"The best available approach in print to an understanding of present-day Latin America. Rare is such a combination of expert knowledge, accurate scholarship and lucid zestful exposition."—Irving A. Leonard, *University of Michigan*.

"It combines artistry and accuracy, enthusiasm and restraint, thought and imagination, long perspective and orderly mobilization of detail."—J. Fred Rippy, *University of Chicago*.

6¼ x 9½, cloth, 30 maps, 796 pages, \$6.50 text

AMERICAN EPOCH

A History of the United States Since the 1890's

by ARTHUR S. LINK, *Northwestern University*

"I will use Link's *American Epoch* as a text in my Summer School class of 1955 and in two of my classes during the academic year 1955-56. I think the text is excellent. It is well written, well balanced and incorporates the latest historical research."—Ralph P. Bieber, *Washington University*.

"The best treatment that I have seen of the United States in the twentieth century, and certainly the most thorough yet done. This should be a tremendously popular book."—Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *University of Florida*.

6¼ x 9½, cloth, 39 maps, illus., 724 pages, \$6.00 text

Examination copies on request

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

501 Madison Ave. College Department New York 22

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

Feudalism in History

Edited by Rushton Coulborn

Are there events in history so similar that they must produce like results? Are there uniformities in history? By testing the hypothesis that the methods of feudalism may have been applied outside Western Europe, this book provides answers to these questions by means of analyses of social and political organization in various periods in Western Europe, Japan, China, Mesopotamia and Iran, Egypt, India, Byzantium, and Russia.

450 pages. \$8.50

John Ziska and the Hussite Revolution

By Frederick Heymann

This is at once a moving account of the Hussite Revolution from its very beginnings and a biography of one of its most brilliant military leaders who was largely responsible for the success of this first heresy in history which the Church of Rome could not defeat. The author records Ziska's organization of the peasants and townsmen into field armies, the development of the movable wagon fortress, the siege of Prague and the battle of Vitkov, and many other events, and shows the far-reaching effects of the revolution.

544 pages. Maps & Illustrations. \$9

The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, 2 volumes

By Hans Baron

A fascinating account of the military and ideological wars which the Florentine and Venetian city-states fought against the rising tyranny of the Visconti in order to preserve their independence. The author ably demonstrates how the new civic humanism of the patriotic Florentines succeeded in setting limits to tyranny and gave nerve and color to the early Renaissance.

628 pages. 2 volumes. Illustrated. \$10

Order from your bookstore, or

Princeton University Press • Princeton, N. J.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN OUR TIME

ROBERT M. MACIVER

Inspiring and inspired, this book examines the background and meaning of academic freedom, considers the various aspects of the current problems it faces, and, integrating its findings, points to practical ways in which academic freedom can be defended. Looking squarely at the major causes and conflicts of academic freedom in our day, Dr. Maciver analyzes the narrow economic interests or social prejudices that have animated various groups to band together to assail it, and he emphasizes the obligations of the educator in this area no less than his rights. \$4.00

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES

RICHARD HOFSTADTER and WALTER P. METZGER

The first comprehensive treatment of the development of academic freedom in the United States, this is also one of the few histories of higher learning in America written by trained historians. Beginning with the foundations of academic freedom in the achievements of the medieval masters, the authors trace the evolution of academic freedom in the distinctively American system of education up to the present day. Timely and sincere, this work is also an enduring and vital contribution to American thought, casting new light on "the history of academic man and the complex circumstances under which he has done his work." \$5.50

MARSILIUS OF PADUA: THE DEFENDER OF PEACE

*Volume II: The Defensor pacis in an
English Translation by Alan Gewirth*

The first complete translation of the *Defensor pacis* into any modern language, this book, long-awaited, makes available in English one of the ten or twelve most important works in the entire history of Western political thought. With *Volume I: Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy*, this definitive rendition and analysis of Marsilius's classic offers students of the history of modern political theory an opportunity to make a firsthand acquaintance with its beginnings. About \$8.00

ESSAYS IN MEDIEVAL LIFE AND THOUGHT

This collection was gathered to honor Austin Patterson Evans, long the mentor of medievalists at Columbia University and editor of the *Records of Civilization Series*. The essays—on subjects ranging from Luther's social views to the archaeology of medieval Athens—illuminate medieval civilization on many sides. Included also, with commentary, are hitherto unpublished texts of unique value—among them the confession of Prou Boneta, a heretic mystic of southern France; statutes on cloth making in Toulouse; and a treatise on duties by Engelbert of Admont. \$4.00



At your bookstore, or from

—COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, New York 27—

FRANCISCO I. MADERO

STANLEY R. ROSS

The first full-length biography in English of the leader of the initial phase of the Mexican Revolution, Francisco I. Madero, called "the Apostle of Mexican Democracy." Based on private archival materials in Mexico and the United States, the book is in many cases also informed by interviews conducted personally by the author with actual participants in the events he has so vividly detailed. Here is an important study of the statesman-president of Mexico whose ideals were ahead of his time and who yet was able to break the thirty-five-year reign of Porfirio Díaz in a state left weary by Díaz's dictatorial rule.

\$5.50

THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW DEAL

DANIEL ROLAND FUSFELD

This work shows clearly that FDR had a well-formed economic philosophy by the time he was elected President and that this philosophy was derived not only from his academic training and the economic thinking of his time, but also from the experience gained from political movements and practical political action. Dr. Fusfeld chronologically traces a number of important influences: the tradition of *noblesse oblige* as practiced by the "Hudson River gentry"; courses in economics at Harvard; Roosevelt's application of progressive ideas as a state senator in New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice-presidential candidate, and Governor of New York.

About \$5.00

THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA

JOHN and MAVIS BIESANZ

A study of the peoples and institutions of Panama and the Canal Zone, this book analyzes with detachment Panama's role as a "showcase for democracy." Although the assassination of President José Antonio Rémon brought international notoriety to Panamanian politics, the authors show that Panama has long been at the "Crossroads of the World" in more ways than geographically and that its politics, institutions, and society reflect its strategic role on the international scene. The book also covers Panama's history, economy, relations with the United States, family life, racial groups, religion, and culture.

Illustrated. \$5.50

AN OLD FAITH IN THE NEW WORLD

Portrait of Congregation

Shearith Israel, 1654-1954

DAVID and TAMAR DE SOLA POOL

Written as a tercentenary celebration of Jewish settlement in America, this book is a history of the oldest Jewish congregation on the continent. Professor Allan Nevins has written: "It has been a privilege to read this book. . . . I have learned a great deal about New York and Jewish history from the volume, and have had my mind opened to a story of congregational effort and individual labor and sacrifice that I find impressive." *Illustrated.* \$15.00



At your bookstore, or from

—COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, New York 27—

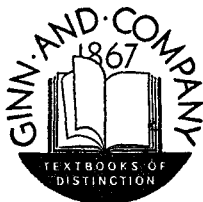
**THE
PEOPLE
AND
POLITICS
OF
LATIN
AMERICA**

**Fourth
Edition
by
WILLIAMS
•
BARTLETT
•
MILLER**

JUST PUBLISHED

A well-balanced text covering all the pertinent aspects of Latin American history from the colonial era to the present. It is an authoritative account of our Latin American neighbors. Each country is treated separately, with emphasis on national background, ways of living, politics, cultural progress; special attention is given to economic and social development.

This text takes an up-to-date point of view on world affairs, and carries the account of each country through 1955.



This new edition contains a variety of new maps, illustrations, and an entirely revised bibliography. Ask for circular #612

Home Office: BOSTON

Sales Offices:

**NEW YORK 11
CHICAGO 16
ATLANTA 3
DALLAS 1
COLUMBUS 16
SAN FRANCISCO 3
TORONTO 7**

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LXI, No. 1

October, 1955

English Emigration on the Eve of the American Revolution

MILDRED CAMPBELL

ENGLISH emigration to the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is but a small segment of an age-old phenomenon, common alike to the ancient world and our own—the movement of people from one place to another on the face of the earth. Even so, it is in itself no narrow theme. It cuts across at least three recognized fields of history: the British Empire, American colonial history, and English local history. Indeed the extent of the hunting ground, at once the source of despair and delight, probably helps to account for the limited treatment the subject has received.

It is somewhat surprising that the emigrant has occupied so little space in the histories of the empire, since without him, and her, there would have been much less empire to write about. But the intricacies of colonial policy and imperial strategy have, in the main, proved more alluring to the workers in that field than the affairs of a heterogeneous lot of unimportant people who furnished cargo for outgoing ships. Still less, though perhaps more understandably, has the subject attracted English local historians. A monastic ruin, the brasses in the parish church, or the workings of the local court leet were themes more to their taste than the careers of a dissolute younger son,

the village ne'er-do-well, or disgruntled tradesmen and farmers, though it is only fair to say that in the hands of Professors Tawney and Habbakuk, Mr. Haskins and others, English local history has in recent years undergone a great change.

The emigrant, on the other hand, though perhaps oftener in his role of immigrant, has always interested students of American history. Indeed so much excellent work has been done in the American colonial field that one who feels only partially at home there has no little hesitation in entering upon ground so well charted. It was the encouragement of several colonial historians lamenting the lack of background studies dealing with the subject that finally led to this trans-Atlantic venture. Since I began, some years ago, significant studies on certain aspects of the English background have been made. There does still seem, however, to be room for additional data on those old, but to a great extent still unanswered, questions concerning the colonists—who they actually were, whence they came, and why. We still lean pretty heavily on the time-honored generalizations of the textbooks, that they represented all kinds of people who came “for social, economic, political and religious reasons.” Such statements need to be spelled out wherever they can be.

Preliminary searches in English local records were disappointing. The story of those who left England didn't seem to be there. Certainly it isn't there as fully as we should like to have it, and rarely at all so labeled. But if one can approach the local archives with certain clues in hand, they can be brought to yield more than at first seems possible.

Hence through statistical analyses of several sets of existing emigrant lists drawn from the years 1650–1776, I have sought to arrive at sizable samples of specific data that provide the key for making more effective use of local records. The value of the sampling is enhanced by the fact that the basic manuscripts on which it is based are fairly well spaced in time and contain information sufficiently similar in nature to make useful comparisons possible.¹ I am, therefore, presenting a brief analysis of one of these basic records to illustrate the method of approach, and again, through one example, to show how the information the analysis yields can be used to move back of the port of embarkation.

For a hundred and fifty years prior to the War of Independence, the British government, and those who passed for economists in that day, had

¹ These lists cover in point of time, the mid-seventeenth century, the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, and the period of the 1770's dealt with in this paper. They include the names of approximately 20,000 emigrants. Analyses of the entire group are in preparation.

debated the benefits and dangers of emigration. Opinion blew intermittently hot and cold, depending largely on contemporary notions regarding population surpluses or deficits and the general social and economic well-being of the nation. In the decade following the peace of 1763, it became once again an active issue.

For after long years of prosperity the country found itself throughout the 1760's in the throes of hard times. The price of grain went up each year and from 1768 on showed few signs of a downward turn.² People were accustomed to an occasional bad year with fluctuating prices; but when five successive wet seasons led to continued scarcity and high prices it began to look as if even God himself had forsaken His Englishmen. Causes in plenty beside the weather were offered by way of explanation.³ They need not detain us here, but the situation itself is pertinent, for emigration, now definitely on the increase, was thought by some to be one of the evil results of the economic depression. Others, equally confident, regarded it as a happy means of helping to end the current ills. Contemporary population studies, somewhat the rage among budding statisticians, resulted in different conclusions regarding the effects of emigration. Dr. Thomas Percival found a growing population that could stand losses, while the studies of Richard Price and his followers predicted that if the present decrease continued England would be well-nigh depopulated within fifty years.⁴ As reports of continued increase persisted, there was a good deal of agitation for parliamentary action that would prohibit emigration entirely as earlier acts had already prohibited artisans from

² The rise in prices in the decade after 1763 can be followed in various types of sources. Perhaps the best are the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the accounts in Sir William Beveridge's materials for a price history (now housed at the Institute of Historical Research). The best source for the grain story, especially the struggle for price controls, is in the London Corporation MSS. See particularly Misc. 171.8, 117.4, 118.1.

³ High taxes, inclosures, the decay of trade, the poor state of public credit, and unworthy ministers were among the reasons most often given; but such general matters as luxury among the great, sloth among the poor, even the depravity of the human race came in for their share. There is a great abundance of pamphlet literature pointing out some or all of the above causes; and the contemporary press was full of it. For general news on conditions, and letters giving individual opinions, *Lloyd's Evening Post* is best for the London area, though some of the others were helpful; and for the country as a whole the following: *Canterbury Journal*, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, *Gloucester Journal*, *Ipswich Journal*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Newcastle Chronicle*, *Norwich Mercury*, and *Yorkshire Chronicle*. There is much repetition in the items used by the various papers, but always some differences.

⁴ There are a great many of these population studies; most of them are listed in Henry Higgs, *Bibliography of Economics, 1751-1775* (Cambridge, Eng., 1935), I. See especially John Mitchell, *The Present State of Great Britain and North America* (London, 1767), pp. 113-27; Dr. Thomas Percival, *Observations on the State of Population in Manchester, and Other Adjacent Places* (1773); Richard Price, *Observation on the Expectation of Lives, Increase of Mankind . . .* (London, 1772) and his "A Postscript . . . on Population," included in *A Preface to the Third Edition of the Treatise on Reversionary Payments, etc.* (London, 1773); Arthur Young, *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering People* (London, 1771). Many others relate the problem to emigration.

going to countries other than the British colonies.⁵ In fact one of the London papers in the autumn of 1773 carried the abstract of a plan for such prohibition which, it was expected, would be presented to the House of Commons within a few weeks.⁶

No such legislation was passed, but official circles were disturbed and sought to find out whether or not the facts were as bad as rumor painted them. Accordingly, on December 8, 1773, an order was sent down from the Treasury to the customs officials in every port in England from which passenger ships departed to demand that they submit weekly reports of the numbers emigrating, with certain supplementary data.⁷ The Treasury transcript of these weekly returns covering the period from December, 1773, to April, 1776, forms the nucleus of my present analysis.⁸ They antedate the official reports of the Colonial Office by almost half a century.

Upwards of twelve thousand people were recorded in the reports. Since this number includes all who left for whatever destination, one must at once strike out about half of them. But even after excluding this group—unemployed Irish workmen returning home, soldiers on their way to Bengal, a colorful assembly of strolling players bound for the Low Countries, and diverse gentlemen off to the Continent for business or pleasure—we still have left upwards of six thousand people who sailed for some port in the West Indies or North America. A few of these, the record makes clear, were also going on business with intent to return, and a few for pleasure. But most of the six thousand were people whom the reports were designed to catch, those who were leaving their homes behind them to settle in the New World.

The group includes approximately eighty per cent men, twelve per cent women, and eight per cent (about 450–500) children. Upwards of two thousand, or approximately thirty-four per cent of the group, paid their own passage. Somewhat more than three thousand, roughly fifty-five per cent, went as regularly indentured servants, who would, upon arrival, enter the service of a master for a period of years—a process well described by Professor Richard Morris and others. About four hundred, approximately six per cent, were redemptioners⁹ to whom the captain of the ship gave passage in return for their bond or note received as surety that upon landing it would be repaid him by relatives or friends of the emigrants. Otherwise they too would

⁵ The first act of this kind was passed in 1718. It was renewed in 1750.

⁶ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, Nov. 6–8, 1773.

⁷ Public Record Office, T. 47/10, T. 29/44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, T. 47/9–10–11. These records are not unknown to scholars. Parts of them were printed about fifty years ago, but simply as lists without comment. Some use has been made of them; but never in this fashion nor to the full extent of their possibilities.

⁹ I have defined this term as it was defined in a note in the original manuscript.

go into service under indenture. And 296, approximately five per cent, were convicts who had their sea voyage at His Majesty's expense, and were also destined upon landing to go into service for seven to fourteen years. These are the people to whom Abbot Smith has devoted much worth-while study.

About eighty per cent from the London area went as indentured servants as opposed to sixty per cent (including convicts) for the group as a whole. Some went in response to specific requests from the other side; some were already hired by a master, who sometimes went over on the same ship with them; and hundreds went to be sold to the highest bidder upon arrival. Four- and five-year terms of service predominated; and beyond this, scattered longer terms, often for younger people, and always for the convicts.

Several of the travelers were under one year of age. The oldest was a Yorkshire farmer of seventy-two. From twenty to twenty-five years was still the favored age; but scores were in their thirties and forties. Even fifty- and sixty-year-olds were not infrequent, a vast difference from the situation disclosed in the analyses of earlier years.

Before dealing with the question of occupation and status, a word must be said concerning the documents' authenticity in this regard. I am told by scholars who have worked with emigration reports of the mid-nineteenth century that no dependence can be put in the status terms which they contain, that the same terms appear again and again and are invariably identical with the type of workman whom the emigration agents were seeking. One would indeed be overcredulous to suppose that there were here no self-styled artisans—unskilled laborers who had themselves recorded as masons or carpenters or bricklayers in the hope of higher wages in America. And it is possible that the percentage of unskilled laborers should be raised somewhat and that of the artisans lowered. But even allowing for a margin to take care of the self-promoters, certain features of the evidence convince one that, in the main, status and occupational labels may be taken as valid. For one thing, there are so many different crafts and skills mentioned, 258 in all, many representing specialized lines of work. If they were faked terms, one wonders why the workmen bothered to think up such relatively specific skills as enameler, edgetool maker, watch gilder, harpsichord maker, muff maker, mathematical instrument maker, parchment maker, and the like. These were all familiar enough trades in mid-eighteenth-century London, and indeed to a lesser degree in colonial Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. They were not only skills little sought by colonial agents but also those in which it would be fairly easy to detect fraud.

Nor were the more usual skills which appeared more frequently always

the ones most sought after. Some of them were, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers, for instance, and grooms, servants, and tailors. But masons, shoemakers, and bricklayers were also in great demand; yet these trades do not appear with such frequency in the lists. And why, for instance, if only stock terms were being used, were so many bakers going? They were not in great demand. And why did so many peruke makers go? That seems hardly the skill most needed for settling lands along the Ohio and Mississippi, or clearing the forests in Nova Scotia! The answers to these questions lie in various background studies. But the fact that they can, in large measure, be found there gives further weight to the validity of the terms by which the emigrants themselves described their status and occupations.

This question has been dealt with at some length because, if the terms are authentic, they provide concrete data on a question concerning which we have heretofore had much interest but little more than conjecture. Were the colonists who came over chiefly "laborers," both rural and urban, whose plight in England was known to be a sorry one throughout most of the colonial period? Or were they a notch higher up in the economic scale, farmers and craftsmen whose actual need was perhaps less great but who possessed the ambition and initiative requisite for improving their lot? I recall, as will others of C. M. Andrews' old students, how often he expressed a wish for more data on that question. And what of the proportion of farmers to artisans and craftsmen? And did this proportion differ or remain constant in different periods?

In so far as this record is concerned, the answers to those questions are briefly as follows: of the men, eleven per cent are described as "laborer," with no distinction made between agricultural and urban laborers; sixty-three per cent are in the category of craftsmen and tradespeople; and sixteen per cent belong to agriculture, being styled "farmer," "husbandman," and "yeoman" (the term "farmer" was now more commonly used than the other two).

It is apparent that, even allowing for a small decrease in the number of craftsmen to take care of the self-styled artisans, the numerical superiority of the skilled workers plus their agricultural counterpart, the yeoman and farmers, over those termed "laborer" is very great. Of course this record covers only a few years and comes at the close of the colonial period. It is, however, significant that in the analyses of other groups in the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the ratio between laborers and the somewhat more prosperous farmer and artisan group combined is very much the same as for this record. On the contrary, the ratio between the

artisans and their agricultural counterparts, the yeoman and farmers, differs rather markedly from period to period.¹⁰

Among the men not accounted for in the above groups, five per cent were clerical workers and schoolmasters. The latter, one notes, went chiefly as indentured servants and commanded a lesser price on the other side than tailors, carpenters, and bricklayers (we have a long tradition to combat). The final three per cent are described as "planters" or "gentlemen"—planters returning to their estates in the West Indies, Maryland, or Virginia, or gentlemen on business ventures.

Of the women who sailed, twenty-three per cent were working women with some skill or occupation. They went as seamstresses, governesses, dairymaids, lady's maids, and the like. Two per cent of the women were described as "Ladies," chiefly the wives of planters returning from visits. The rest went as "wife" of so-and-so, or were styled "spinster," generally by now used to denote an unmarried woman, as had not earlier been the case.¹¹

These emigrants came from every county in England. Scots and Irish were also represented but in small numbers, as hundreds of them were going from their own ports. The London area led with the largest number, as one would expect, though it is certain that many of the "Londoners," so-styled, had not been born within the sound of Bow Bells. Youths who forsook country lanes for London streets and found the latter inhospitable were now ready to pack up and join those who felt the urge to move on. The second largest number came from the North country, with Yorkshire predominating. In the west, Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Devon were well represented. Why was Shropshire, also in the west, among the eight counties least represented? And why did so many come from Norfolk and so few from Suffolk, when both these East Anglian counties had marked traditions of earlier emigration? And why were Dorset and Cornwall, also strong in the colonizing tradition, at this time sending so few? These are questions which the record raises. One must go back of it for their answers.¹²

In respect to destination, it is clear that the West Indies have lost their earlier attraction. Only five per cent of the entire number shipped for those islands, about half of them going to Jamaica. The largest group booked for Maryland, though we well know that many moved on from there. Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Nova Scotia came next in order, with little difference

¹⁰ This statement is based on analyses of a similar nature made from earlier records. They are in preparation for publication.

¹¹ Herbert Heaton tells me that "spinster" was still being used to designate married women in Ireland as late as the early nineteenth century.

¹² I have dealt with some of these questions in other background studies, now in preparation for publication.

between them. Sizable groups were going to New York, Georgia, and the Carolinas, a few to the Floridas, and of the entire six thousand, only fifty-six people booked for New England, that mecca of earlier emigrants. The explanation of this distribution also lies outside the record itself and is a phase on which interesting work has already been done.

The ports from which the ships departed were London, sending by far the largest numbers; Bristol, Liverpool, Whitehaven, Newcastle (Shields), Whitby, Scarborough, Hull, Plymouth, and Portsmouth. The spring months were favored for departure, though some sailings were listed every month. The name of each ship is given and her master. The usefulness of the names of the ships like those of the emigrants themselves is curtailed by the number of repetitions. Nonetheless, the researcher is bound to find that day a pleasanter one on which he encounters such names as the *Charming Nellie*, the *Generous Friends*, and the *Glorious Adventure*, though many emigrants doubtless thought the last poorly named before they finished the voyage.

One further feature of this record is the surprisingly modern addition, at the end, of a little questionnaire—an *interrogatory* would have been its earlier name—designed to inquire of each emigrant who paid his own passage why he was leaving England. As in the case of most modern questionnaires the replies are less illuminating than one could wish, but they too provide useful clues.

Such briefly are the data of the weekly reports of the customs officers. They corroborate in statistical terms certain information already fairly well established. More important is the evidence they provide for assumptions hitherto dependent on mere conjecture or the fragile underpinning of individual illustrations. Finally, they suggest a whole array of tantalizing questions: what kind of homes did these people leave behind them? What conditions surrounded their leave-taking? Was the decision to come away their own, or pressed upon them by others? What others? Were their motives chiefly economic? Did politics or religion enter in? Was it the “push” from that side, or the “pull” from this that brought them? (I have borrowed these terms from Harry Jerome’s *Migration and Business Cycles* [New York, 1926].) What, in short, lay back of the day of embarkation?

The first clue provided by the above analysis for the answers to these questions lies in the fact that in each case the emigrant’s place of origin is given. By means of this information, sizable groups can be followed back to their home communities. One such group is the Yorkshire men and their families to whom the remainder of this study is devoted. They sailed chiefly from the ports of Hull, Scarborough, Whitehaven, and Whitby and num-

bered, all told, about eight hundred people. Their story, in so far as I have it, comes mainly from records still in Yorkshire. But Yorkshire records have also sometimes found lodgment far from home—in the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, among the Nova Scotia records, and elsewhere.

One should also say at the outset, that not all Yorkshire emigrants are to be explained by their background. Their contemporary, Arthur Young, was right when he said, "There are certain men in all countries that are either of unsettled dispositions or of so active and enterprising ones, that they will not stay home."¹³ That statement, I suspect, would account for some individuals in any body of emigrants. One finds, moreover, among the Yorkshire people, a few types common to practically every emigrant group—the gentleman, for instance, who suffers financial reverses and is unable to keep up with the demands of his station: William Black and his well-born wife moved in proper county circles in the West Riding until a legal technicality deprived them of the comfortable legacy they had counted on. Rather than face a lowering of county status at home, they decided to emigrate, and along with four sons, a daughter, and two servants are in our list for March, 1774, bound for Nova Scotia to buy land.¹⁴ Then there is the aimless, wayward, young bachelor, whose casual decision to leave the land of his birth could be made overnight: George Taylor, Sheffield bred, fell in with several merchants and a ship captain at an inn in Whitehaven one evening. Here he talked until late at night about America. They all agreed that it was a young man's paradise. Taylor went to bed with his head full of such talk. Recalling it all later, he says, "The next morning I arose with a determined resolution to go over sea, and immediately settled my affairs in order to embark."¹⁵ Finally, there is the lucky heir who is left a sizable fortune by a little-known relative in America: among the Yorkshire emigrants, this was Alexander Hogg, of Leeds, who sailed in *The Two Friends* to claim a legacy of five thousand pounds and a freehold estate left him by an uncle in Philadelphia.¹⁶ Yorkshire, as such, does not account for these men, and they are sufficiently few in number always to be somewhat unusual. Yet each of them turns up often enough to be recognizable as a kind of stock figure. Perhaps it is fair to speak of them as belonging in the *emigrant tradition*.

But the majority were the product of their particular background, and to

¹³ Arthur Young, *Observations on the Present State of Waste Lands in Great Britain* (London, 1773), p. 6.

¹⁴ *Historical Record of the Family of William Black* (Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1885), pp. 1-8.

¹⁵ G. Taylor, *A Voyage to North America* (Nottingham, 1775), pp. 1-3.

¹⁶ *Newcastle Chronicle*, Apr. 10, 1773.

understand them and their actions we must turn to Yorkshire. It was essentially a rural background; approximately two thirds of the entire number emigrating from Yorkshire were farming folk and their families. They were not wealthy people, far from it. But neither were they poverty-stricken. Some of them according to their own community standards were men "of considerable property," farmers "of the better sort," and "men of substance." Some were tenants and farm laborers. The majority appear to have been simply small farmers, renters not owners of the land they lived on, with a little savings, hard come by and not to be lightly parted with. If savings were scant, they were still possessed of enough household effects, farm animals, and the like to convert into the cash necessary for transporting themselves and their families to the New World. None of the group starting from Yorkshire went as indentured servants, though the more prosperous frequently paid the fare of one or more workmen hired to help them on the farms they hoped to acquire on the other side.

They came from the North and East Ridings, country of rugged moors and grassy dales—Wensleydale, Bilsdale, and their neighbors; of smiling open vales—Cleveland, Holderness, Pickering, and the upper Vale of York. The area includes also that stretch of chalky wolds to the southeast, called so aptly by a contemporary, "the Surrey downs on a larger scale."¹⁷ In the opinion of many, it is a country of natural beauty unrivaled in the whole of England. To Arthur Young, riding about on horseback in the two or three years preceding the migration, many of its farms offered "a melancholy prospect."¹⁸ But that, to Young, was because they were "so palpably capable of improvement" if planted in carrots and cabbages. The country folk getting ready to leave in the early 1770's probably viewed it with mixed feelings. It was the land of their forebears. The small gray stone houses, appearing almost as a part of the landscape at the edge of moor and wold, were the homes in which they had been born, and in most cases, so had their fathers, and theirs. For William Marshall, writing in retrospect a decade and a half after the emigrants' departure, noted as a peculiar feature of this section of Yorkshire the fact that the occupiers of small fifty- to one-hundred-acre farms, even though only renters, were, unlike their counterparts in the south of England, "in full possession" of the farms they rented, handing them down from father to son and treating them "with the spirit of owners" and "in every respect as their own estates."¹⁹ This fact needs to be borne in mind.

¹⁷ William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (London, 1796), I.

¹⁸ Arthur Young, *A Six-Months Tour through the North of England* (London, 1771) (hereafter cited as *Northern Tour*). Young made his first tour of the North in 1769, went again in 1770 and in 1771, adding certain items to each account.

¹⁹ Marshall, *Rural Economy*, I, 22-24.

Conditions in Yorkshire in the decade following the Peace of 1763 were in some ways better, in some worse, than for England as a whole. Wet seasons and crop failures had brought scarcity and high prices, and grain had been imported from Norfolk two years before importation from the outside became a national necessity, though high grain prices were not an unmixed evil to small farmers if they had anything to sell.²⁰ Some village and farming folk to the north were affected by poor conditions in nearby industrial areas, though toward Hull there was great demand for labor in connection with draining, inclosing, and road building, and at what were regarded high wages. If one went as far south as Leeds and nearby urban centers, one found plenty to grumble about. But oddly enough, it was not so much the hard times common to most of England at this period as it was the spirit of progress and improvement taking hold in this section of Yorkshire that proved unsettling to the farmers of the uplands and wold country.

The most apparent outward mark of this activity was the amount of inclosing either already underway or planned. In scores of private acts under the Georges, England inclosed more than a million acres. The peak of this activity came from the late sixties to the late seventies. Yorkshire inclosed the largest acreage of any county in England, and, in the years covered by this emigration and immediately before, the greater part of this inclosing was taking place in the North and East Ridings.²¹

The question whether inclosing was harmful or beneficial, argued in England for over two hundred years, had pretty generally been settled in favor of inclosure, in the belief that tenants as well as landlords stood to profit thereby. It is significant, therefore, that in the whole of the four volumes devoted to his northern tour, Arthur Young, avid protagonist of inclosure, found but one place where he felt it had proved a hardship. This was in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Young tells us how here the larger owner was favored and the small proprietor undone because the exorbitant expense accompanying the process ruined the small man before he could realize the increased profits which would ensue.²²

Since the Yorkshire farming folk who emigrated were chiefly renters, this particular evil affected them directly but little. But it helped to increase the general discontent brewing among the smaller men in country neighborhoods. In other ways they were directly affected. An experiment of Sir Digby

²⁰ There is some indication that the scarcity came not from a dearth of grain but because the farmers were hoarding it.

²¹ Appendix of *General Report on Enclosures* (London, 1808). The figures on the Yorkshire inclosures in this paragraph come from the appendix of the *General Report*, and the *Journals of the House of Lords, 1770-1774, passim*.

²² Young, *Northern Tour*, II.

Legard in the East Riding will illustrate. In the early 1760's he had taken over a six-thousand-acre estate most of which lay in the wolds. By 1769 he had already effected great changes in a thousand acres of it. Those alterations yet to be made involved an estimated outlay of about thirty thousand pounds. But, Sir Digby says, "Though the improvement of 5000 acres might amount to so large a sum when the farms are as small as 35 lb. a year . . . yet if we dispose the farms on a larger scale, and as they ought to be laid out, viz. 200 acres to each instead of 70 acres, the expense will be greatly reduced."²³ Whether any of Sir Digby's tenants were on the 1772-1775 list, I do not know. But when forty-two-year-old Michael Pinkney, who sailed from Scarborough in April, 1774, said that he was leaving because he was "turned off his farm, it being taken into a larger one," and Thomas Matthews, who went in the following summer, that he went because "all the small farms in my parish were taken in to a larger one," they referred to just this kind of practice.

But the way in which these particular emigrants were overwhelmingly affected by the inclosure was through the increase in their rents. "He goes on account of his rents being raised," became a kind of refrain repeated again and again by the scribe who recorded the replies which the Yorkshire farmers gave to the questionnaire concerning their reasons for leaving England. One had been amazed at the amount of the increased rental which Arthur Young quoted as possible, if and when inclosure should take place. Surely this was the wishful thinking of a crusader for inclosure. Moreover, what about the validity of the replies in the questionnaire? Disgruntled farmers have always grumbled about rents. The specific check needed to allay such doubts came first from one John Bulmer who sailed with his wife and family on the *Prince George*. Bulmer named Beilby Thompson as the landlord who had raised his rents. Fortunately, this same Beilby Thompson kept a kind of agricultural diary that is still extant. Though written in the years just following Bulmer's departure, the diary also contains at the end, in Thompson's own handwriting, lists of the "Old Rents," and of the "New Rents" that replaced them on Lady Day, 1771 and 1772. It was the winter of 1773-1774 that Bulmer left. Farms renting under the old scheme for £80, brought £150 under the new; a £29 rental became £48; a £12 rent was raised to £23.²⁴ It was enough to give a tenant pause. Rent rolls in the Northallerton Record Office and at Beverley, county town of the East Riding, and records of the estates of other landlords named by the emigrants furnish additional documentary evidence. The press and travelers' letters and diaries tell the same

²³ John Robinson, *A Journey to Nova Scotia* (York, 1774), p. 1.

²⁴ Manuscript diary of Beilby Thompson, now in possession of Mr. Forbes Adams, Selby, Yorkshire.

tale. Where lands remained uninclosed, or where they had been inclosed for a long time, the rents scarcely changed a shilling for years. But on newly inclosed land, the jump was prodigious.

In addition, moreover, every renter paid a tax for the poor rates. In the North and East Riding this ranged from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound of the real rent.²⁵ Though he disliked this tax, it did not raise the farmer's ire as did the tithes which were gathered either in kind or in cash. They were made out yearly and increased in proportion to the increase in production and improvement. "It is difficult to write with temper on the subject of tithes," wrote a contemporary; and everyone interested in the farmer spoke out against them.²⁶

That economic depression, perhaps fear of actual dispossession, increased taxes, and, above all, increased rents from new inclosures paved the way for emigration and were contributing factors of great magnitude seems clear. But to end the story here would be a mistake.

It was not only the current ill effects of such practices that bothered these farmers. It was gloom about the future, and it went beyond purely economic matters, though these loomed large. Yorkshire agriculture was in the process of change. Competition was growing keener than it had ever been. This did not mean hardships for everyone. Quite the contrary! If a man had enough capital to tide him over lean years such as those from 1768 to 1773, or if he were ready to put his whole mind and energy to the task, keep up with new improvements, try new methods, and work without ceasing, he might not only survive but prosper. Beilby Thompson's agricultural diary, extending beyond the years when John Bulmer left, shows other tenants who did not go to America not only paying the new rents but in some cases willing to pay even more to get the lands they wanted, and vying with each other and their landlord in trying out new seeds and soil improvement.

But if a tenant couldn't, or wouldn't, meet these conditions, and didn't do well, there were plenty of others eager to take his land. Moreover, even if he did well, practice was proving that small farms were less economical to operate for greater production than large ones. Gone or going was the old order wherein an East Riding farmer could treat the land "in every way as if it were his own" and be reasonably sure that his son would have it after him. He faced not only a future of greater uncertainty but one of less independence; and this didn't agree well with the temperament of Yorkshire dalesmen and their neighbors.

²⁵ Rate books in York MSS in the Guildhall, York, for years 1750-75; Young, *Northern Tour*, II, 147. I found Young well supported wherever I checked his figures with documentary evidence.

²⁶ Marshall, *Rural Economy*, I, 84.

It is as dangerous to ascribe traits of character and behavior to a region as to a nation. But in the State Papers of the reign of James I, we find royal agents who attempted to compound the rents of tenants on crown lands saying that the Yorkshire farmers were the toughest customers to bring around to an agreement of any they encountered in all England. There had, moreover, a dozen years before this emigration, been bad blood between the farmers of the East Riding and their larger neighbors over the Militia Act.²⁷ And in the very month that the emigration reports begin, there are notices in the Yorkshire papers that

Farmers' Clubs in several towns of the East Riding of the county have formed themselves into an association under the title of the Liberty Club. . . . the fundamental law of the society is to unite in future elections in support of such candidates as will engage to promote short parliaments, and the abolition of tithes.²⁸

There is not much doubt but that the talk from America about no tithes, and freedom and independence, struck a responsive chord.

Not without weight with some also was another element. John Wesley had preached to good advantage all over Yorkshire. These Yorkshire emigrants were chiefly Methodists. It was not fear of religious oppression which led them to think with sympathy about the New World but the hope of escaping from the worldliness that everywhere lay around them. "I saw troubles that were everywhere befalling my country," said Charles Dixon, who sailed with one of the earliest groups, "and it was difficult to keep a conscience void of offence."²⁹ Zion in the wilderness made something of the same appeal to Methodists in the eighteenth century that it had made to Puritans in the seventeenth. Methodism was strong in the farming communities of the wolds. It was also particularly strong among the artisans and tradesmen, to which group Dixon belonged. We must turn now for a word of this group, artificers and laborers who, with an occasional linen draper, clothier, and a few merchants, made up the additional third of the Yorkshire emigrants.

Scarcity and high prices had struck hardest in urban centers. A traveler in the north in 1773, when crops had taken a turn for the better, speaks still of the want of money, "particularly in Yorkshire," where "a cheap paper currency was in some places in vogue."³⁰

Conditions in the Sheffield area and generally to the south and west of the country remained relatively good, with the plating works, cutleries, lead and

²⁷ Paper on Yorkshire Militia, 1757, British Museum Add. MSS. 32, 874, ff. 61-69.

²⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, Dec. 14, 1773.

²⁹ From a narrative written by Charles Dixon for his children, reprinted in *History of the Dixon Family* (Sackville, N. B., 1891).

³⁰ *Lloyd's Evening Post*, Oct. 29, 1773.

iron works all keeping up well. But around Leeds and the towns to the north and east things were not so flourishing. The cloth trade in Leeds and Wakefield had never fully recovered from the depression of the postwar years. There was unemployment in specialized lines, as well as labor troubles in some areas between masters and journeymen.³¹ Six hundred poor people were fed by public subscription in Leeds in the winter of 1773-1774.³² Working folk in North Riding villages were affected by the poor state of the linen manufacture at Darlington just across the border.³³ One observes, however, that there was, for the most part, more complaint of scarcity and high prices, poor prospects, and dislocation than of actual unemployment. Crathorne weavers suffering from the Darlington situation were said to be "going into other work," not that there was no work for them. Indeed, unskilled labor was in such demand at the construction works near Hull, at such relatively good wages, that farmers complained of a labor shortage.³⁴ The interesting thing, moreover, is that it was not the six hundred poor that were being fed by public subscription in Leeds, or to any extent their kind elsewhere in the smaller towns who were emigrating. There may have been some of them among the several dozen young men who drifted to London, presumably in search of either work or adventure, and, still looking, threw in their lot with the indentured servants being recruited there for America. But their number, all told, was not large.

The nonagricultural group who sailed from the northern ports, fewer than 150 adults, included, first of all, artisans and tradesmen who were neighbors, fellow Methodists, and kinspeople of the North and East Riding farmers. Others came from Leeds and thereabouts and were frequently described as men "of considerable property."³⁵ These men, like the majority of the farmers, took their families and sometimes a servant or two. They were going either to seek the better opportunity held out to the skilled worker and small business man, or to invest in cheap land. For in a country where the life of the landed man had traditionally been the goal to which successful tradesmen aspired, men dissatisfied with their fortunes at home were among those most tempted by the role of landlord pictured for them in the sales talk from America.

³¹ Young, *Northern Tour*, I, 126-39. See also York MSS (Guildhall) Grain Prices, 1769-75; PRO, Duchy of Lancaster MSS 41/43; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, Oct. 29 and Nov. 17, 1773; "Letter from a Farmer," *Leeds Mercury*, Mar. 8, 1774; "Letter from Stokesley," *Leeds Intelligencer*, Nov. 23, 1773; *Leeds Mercury*, Feb. 1, 1774.

³² *York Chronicle*, Mar. 4, 1774; *Leeds Mercury*, Feb. 1, 1774.

³³ "Report from the Committee to Inquire into the Present State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland," *Reports of Committees of the House of Commons* (London, 1803), III (includes letters from the Darlington area).

³⁴ See above, p. 11.

³⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, May 17, 1774; *Yorkshire Chronicle*, Oct. 1, 1773.

In this group also was a poorer class of workers, hired by the more well-to-do farmers and others, to work for them on the other side, carpenters, laborers, apprentices, and the like. Though not going under indenture, except the few above-mentioned who went first to London, passage was frequently paid for workers by their future employers. The remainder, chiefly younger men, represent a variety of skills: grooms, servants, butchers, cutlers, weavers, joiners, and the like. It is of some significance that there is no concentration in any one trade or skill, upwards of thirty being represented. In general their reply to the question of why they were leaving England was: "to improve my condition," "to seek a better livelihood." And as in the case of the farmers, they also were going because they were being sought after.

We must, therefore, turn our attention to this "pull" from the other side. For though adverse conditions and the threat of a changing way of life created a state of mind receptive to the idea of emigration, one cannot help wondering whether the final step would actually in most cases have been taken had there been lacking certain influences that pointed out the way and did much to prepare it.

One wonders this particularly in regard to the country folk who made up the majority of the Yorkshire group, most of them older men than the average emigrant, with families. For the same qualities that made a Yorkshire farmer reluctant to accept the changes that pressed in upon him would also make him reluctant to leave the house where he was born and the hills and dales that he loved. Let him who doubts the feeling either of the Yorkshire men or the Scots for the land they left behind them read the ballads they made and sang for years afterward on this side, or note the homesick phrases in their letters. One would like to have heard the talk, as did a traveler from Kent that evening in March, 1774, when forty men, women, and children spent the night at an inn in York on their way to Scarborough to take the boat.³⁶ It would be the first night's journey away from home for many of them. We have plenty of testimony of the emigrants' sheer dread of the three-thousand-mile ocean voyage, and small wonder. The same papers that carried enticing advertisements of the New World carried, often in adjacent columns, grim stories of shipwreck and loss at sea. Barring actual starvation at home, and this group was not starving, there must have been powerful inducements to offset this fear of danger, of pulling oneself up by the roots, of exchanging the known, even if uncertain, for what might seem the greater uncertainty of the unknown! *There were such inducements*, set forth by many people in many ways.

³⁶ *Canterbury Journal*, Mar. 29, 1774.

A man's friends and kinsfolk who had gone ahead were among the best propagandists; so different from the early days of colonization, when there was practically no one on the other side. Again and again one encounters these replies to the questionnaire: "going to be with his brother"; "going to my father"; "I have an uncle there who desires me to come over."

Much also was made of the neighborhood tie. Two stout young men are wanted for a Charlestown plantation, "Two persons from Holderness would be the more agreeable" reads the request.³⁷ An advertisement regarding lands in New York as late as February, 1775, says, "The principal Proprietor of the township of Blenheim, being himself a Yorkshire man, is very desirous of settling the tract with forty or fifty families of his own countrymen in whose industry and honesty he could entirely depend."³⁸ This was John Wetherhead, formerly of Leeds, now a New York merchant who had acquired a grant of forty-six thousand acres in Schoharie County, New York.³⁹

If every satisfied kinsman was a propagandist, so was every ship captain who sailed west. A cargo of emigrants was a profitable one. The fare for adults was usually five or six pounds, half that for children under ten. Babes in arms went free. Captains and masters vied with each other in regard to passenger and freight space, and offered assistance upon landing. The movement snowballed. After a group of substantial farmers had left Stokesley, the news report stated that "in all probability, should good fortune attend those that are now emigrating, a far greater number would follow their example."⁴⁰ Emigrant successes in the New World became "news" and there was much free advertisement.

But above all other inducements to this group was that of land, and plenty of it. The offer of free land had been music to the ears of land-hungry English farmers throughout a good part of the seventeenth century, and, now once again, not so much free land but cheap land was the prize offered. It was chiefly in the decade following the Peace of 1763 (though earlier in the minds of some individuals) that the dream of American expansion westward took shape. From Nova Scotia to East Florida, and on both sides of the Atlantic, speculators flourished. The story of how their schemes became entangled with both British and American politics and grew to be a major sport of adventurers, businessmen, patriots, and politicians is outside the scope of this paper. It has been told already by Alvord, Abernethy, Gipson, Harlow, and others. Only in one important aspect is it a part of my story. Land grants

³⁷ *Yorkshire Chronicle*, Aug. 12, 1774.

³⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, Feb. 21, 1775.

³⁹ *Public Ledger*, July 2, 1774, and Ruth L. Higgins, *Expansion in New York* (Columbus, Ohio, 1931), pp. 50-56.

⁴⁰ *Yorkshire Chronicle*, Oct. 1, 1773.

invariably stipulated that unless by a given period, usually two to four years, a fixed number of colonists were settled on the lands in question, the grant would be forfeited. This explains a great deal.

Appeals came alike from large and small investors. That Nova Scotia was the destination of the largest number of the Yorkshire contingent was due chiefly to the efforts of Michael Francklin, then lieutenant governor of that province. Learning from the duke of Rutland that some of his tenants felt they could not pay the improved rents, he went himself to Yorkshire in 1772 and stayed for about two months. When he came away, he left agents behind, and it was no accident that they, along with the agents of other investors, were strategically placed in the very towns and villages of the North and East Riding where inclosing was active and discontent over rising rents flourished: Driffeld, Helmsley, Stokesley, Pickering and others.⁴¹ Some of the duke of Rutland's tenants are listed in our record. Charles Dixon, the anxious Methodist quoted a few pages back, tells how he fell in with one of Francklin's agents and was guided by Providence to sell his interest in the paper mill at Hutton Rugby and embark for Nova Scotia.⁴² Dixon was only one of many, and his case is an example of the agent's clever use of a motive already present in the mind of the man he wished to influence.

Britishers concerned over the continued losses of so many people, of whom these in Yorkshire were only one group, devised counterpropaganda. An interesting proposal made to Lord Suffolk in 1774 suggested that troopships already being sent to North America because of the trouble brewing there should offer free return passage to all emigrants who were homesick or who had not found things up to expectation. They would have been there and could tell just how bad it was.⁴³ Reports of dissatisfied friends and kinspeople on the other side were also gathered for publication.

Conflicting accounts made the decision difficult for those who were contemplating it. The more daring decided to take the chance. The more cautious who could afford it went with enough money to return if they wished. "To purchase or return" is a recurrent phrase in the replies of many to the

⁴¹ Francklin's attempts at settlements in the late sixties are set forth in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 36507, ff. 255-70. His visit to Yorkshire and the terms offered the farmers and others there are chiefly taken from personal narratives such as that of Charles Dixon (n. 29 above); John Robinson's *Journey to Nova Scotia*, etc. See also "Memoir of Lt. Gov. Francklin" in *Nova Scotia Historical Society Publications*, XVI; and John B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees in Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937), pp. 144-51.

⁴² Narrative of Charles Dixon.

⁴³ First suggested by Thomas Miller (Lord Berkskimming), lord justice clerk of Scotland to Lord Suffolk, PRO, St. P. Scot. II, 54/45-46. See also the earl of Galloway's letter to Lord Dartmouth, Apr. 6, 1775, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Dartmouth*, II, 287. The correspondence between Berkskimming and Lord Suffolk gives a full and detailed account of the fear of emigration that concerned both Scottish and English officials in 1773-1775.

questionnaire. Occasionally someone went ahead on an exploratory trip, as did John Robinson and Thomas Rispin in the spring of 1774. They explored the whole of the Francklin grant, traversing the distance from Halifax to Fort Cumberland, and then wrote a minute description of their journey which sold as a six-penny tract in York that fall.⁴⁴ It is a remarkably interesting document and would be a persuasive one. Robinson and Rispin did not minimize the difficulties. But their general conclusion was that anyone who went, whether farmer or laborer, would have a better opportunity than he would ever have in England. Given twenty years for improvement, lands in Nova Scotia would be as much bettered as had been those lands under improvement in York during the past twenty years. That was language they all understood. The difference would be that, at the end of twenty years, farmers would themselves own the lands they had worked so hard to improve. It is significant that both the land for which Francklin was seeking tenants and that advertised by Wetherhead in New York had already been settled from one to two or three times, and abandoned or forfeited for want of enough settlers.⁴⁵ It was not, therefore, just *people* who must be procured if the ventures of the present grantees were to succeed, but people who would stick. This, I believe, does much to explain why the emigration agents were making no effort to pick up the six hundred starving poor in Leeds or their ilk elsewhere, but went to such lengths to persuade farmers and tradesmen with some substance, enterprise, and ambition to go.

In May, 1774, just after a boat load of Yorkshire people had arrived in Nova Scotia, Governor Legge wrote to Lord Dartmouth about them as follows: "Them that were able are purchasing lands of former settlers, others hiring themselves out to service, and others, wishing themselves at home again, will soon quit this province."⁴⁶ With that very able forecast we can leave them. They did just that. Some moved on. Some, homesick for Yorkshire, sailed back with General Massey in June, 1776,⁴⁷ but the Chapmans and the Fawcetts, the Truemans and the Atkinsons, and dozens of others remained to found families, some of whom would pass down papers that tell us of their first coming over, and of the early days.

The story of the Yorkshire emigrants is in some respects the story of all

⁴⁴ See n. 23 above.

⁴⁵ Esther C. Wright, "Cumberland Township: A Focal Point of Early Settlement on the Bay of Fundy," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXVII (1946), 27 ff.; Howard Trueman, *The Chignecto Isthmus* (Toronto, 1902). See also "Memoir of Michael Francklin," Nova Scotia Record Society *Publications*, XV; and for New York, Higgins, *Expansion in New York*, pp. 50-56 and *passim* (includes diagram of land tracts).

⁴⁶ Extracts of official correspondence in *Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1936), Appendix C.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

emigrants; its particulars are different as are those of every group, and it is these particulars that must, I believe, be sought in the locale from which the emigrants came. A sufficient number of background studies should serve to bring into clearer relief the common elements of the process of emigration and particularly to point up the diversity of that side of the story that is at once the background of American history and a part of English, Irish, and Scottish local history.

Vassar College

The RSDLP and Joseph Fels: A Study in Intercultural Contact*

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN and THEODORE H. VON LAUE

THAT travel throughout foreign countries and acquaintance with different peoples foster mutual respect, tolerance, and good will by a deepening understanding of human affairs is a commonplace of the liberal tradition. Yet in view of the increasing number of international and intercultural encounters in recent times one begins to wonder if this optimistic assumption might not need modification. Indeed it may even be urged that the details and consequences of such contacts are given far too little attention in the study of modern history despite their obviously profound significance for the course of human affairs.

One remarkable case study, illustrative of some of the extraordinarily complicated situations which may arise from an encounter between different cultures and nationalities, was the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party (RSDLP) which met in London in May, 1907. This occasion brought some three hundred Russian revolutionaries to the epicenter of the western, "capitalist" world for a three-week stay, among them many of the future masters of the Soviet Union, including Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. And they brought with them from home an uncertain atmosphere of waning revolution and reviving despotism. For repercussions of Russia's recent disastrous war with Japan and the ensuing internal upheaval were still being widely felt, while ominous shadows of the future stretched across the sensitive negotiations already underway toward an Anglo-Russian entente. This congress turned out to be the last such formal gathering of Russia's Marxist revolutionaries before 1917 and marked the peak effort attained by the "united" party before the Russian Revolution, with not just one major delegation but five being present. These were Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Polish Social Democrats, Lettish Social Democrats, and the Jewish Bund. However, the record of this congress embodies not only the facts of its physical presence in the British capital but a strange note of dissonance in addition, a monetary

* Grateful acknowledgement is due the American Philosophical Society and Bryn Mawr College from Arthur P. Dudden for financial assistance.

transaction in the form of a loan which rescued the delegates in an hour of dire need yet put them all in debt to a "wealthy bourgeois."¹

How came that congress to London for its deliberations? Did the setting in which its delegates convened promote friendly understanding of the English environment? In what light did these dedicated Marxists regard their obligation to their "capitalist" benefactor? And who was he? In summation, what impression did Russia's revolutionaries take home with them from England? It was a considerable triumph that the congress was able to meet at all, because the long arms of tsarist influence stretched forth to hound the delegates at every turn, marking their saga indelibly in party annals as "a story of wandering, trial, and hardship."

I

At first the congress had been scheduled for Viborg in Finland, but the advance delegates were driven out by order of the Russian police. Moreover they were equally unsuccessful in their efforts to convene in Stockholm. So the organizers of the congress turned to Denmark, where for a time it appeared as though a refuge had at last been found in Copenhagen. Quarters were engaged, invitations dispatched, and soon the delegates were on their way. But suddenly the Danish monarchy intervened to forbid the assembly obviously in response to Russian pressure, for King Frederick VIII was the brother of the dowager tsarina, widow of Alexander III.² So the delegates, most of them low in funds and traveling without passports, turned still farther westward to England, where the government if not friendly was at least indifferent. Oddly enough the financial strain upon the delegates was further increased by a provision of British law which stipulated that all aliens arriving third class had to prove possession of a minimum of two pounds sterling. The socialists preferred to travel second class where sufficient funds were taken for granted. Yet that necessity apparently also aroused their class consciousness. For according to one Bolshevik, the delegates in their shabby

¹ The most useful general accounts of the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP are to be found in: K. Gandurin, *Episody podpolia* (Moscow, 1934); M. N. Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii. Nakanunie i v gody pervoi revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1926); E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly s'ezdov i Konferentsii vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi partii (b). Piatii s'ezd RSDRP, May-June 1907* (2d ed.; Moscow, 1935); N. Popov, *Outline History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Part I* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934); Elia Levin, "Conference of Russian Socialists in London," *London Justice*, May 18, 1907; "D" [Leo Deutsch?], "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907; H. N. Brailsford, "The Russian Congress," *London Daily News*, June 4, 1907; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel* (2d ed.; New York, 1938); Maxim Gorki, *Days with Lenin* (New York, 1932); Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution: A Biographical History* (New York, 1948).

² Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work* (New York, 1916), pp. 236-37; H. N. Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, XXXIX (Jan. 1, 1948), 30; Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, p. 70; interview with Rafael R. Abramovitch, Jan. 20, 1954.

jackets felt miserably self-conscious, as they contrasted themselves with their well-dressed fellow passengers on the North Sea crossing to Harwich. Thus their guards of proletarian consciousness were already up as they entered capitalist England. Nor was their state of mind eased by a report published in the sympathetic *Daily News* that lists of the delegates together with their physical descriptions had already been forwarded by tsarist agents to all Russian frontier stations accompanied by the order: "Detain, search, and telegraph to St. Petersburg." It was too late to turn back, so they hurried on. This threat of arrest was to hang over them throughout their stay in London.³

Most of the delegates reached London May 9-10, 1907, with the remainder following quickly, until there were approximately three hundred on hand. As soon as each contingent arrived, the newcomers reported to the temporary headquarters of the congress in Whitechapel, a two-storied Socialist Club in Fulborne Street just opposite the London Hospital.⁴

To the unsophisticated Londoners they seemed a wild and motley crowd. Their appearances in the streets ignited instant sensations. The Russian, Polish, Lettish, and Jewish delegates for the most part wore black cloaks, black flowing ties, wide-awake hats, and dark beards, representing the very essence of conspiracy and intrigue. Still more exciting, however, were the delegates from the Caucasus, whose bizarre appearance was accentuated by their sheep-skin *shapkas*, together with the handful of Tartars and Siberians who brought with them the exotic flavor of remote steppes. While the party leaders met almost incessantly to complete arrangements for the sessions which were about to begin, some of the delegates loitered about the scantily furnished rooms of the Socialist Club eating thick slices of buttered bread and drinking coffee, examining maps of London, and conversing volubly in groups or in pairs. The *Morning Post* reporter was impressed by their appearance of "deep study and thought," and pronounced them the "pick of Russia's intellectual workmen."⁵

But what in turn did that revolutionary elite of Russia think of the world's largest metropolis? Those delegates who ventured forth into the streets during their first night in London encountered an extraordinary spectacle, according to one Bolshevik source. They looked with amazement upon the endless streams of people on the sidewalks, at the gleaming show windows of the stores, the flood of electric lights, the subway system, and the double-decker trolley buses. "All that, wrapped into a translucent cloud glowing as

³ Gandurin, *Episody podpolia*, p. 44; *London Daily News*, May 13, 20, 1907; *London Times Weekly Edition*, May 17, 1907.

⁴ *London Daily News*, May 9, 10, 11, 13, 1907.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1907; *London Morning Post*, May 11, 1907; Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, pp. 70-75; Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, pp. 382-85.

from a fire, was fused into a grandiose phantasmagoria; it crushed and overwhelmed us."⁶

Yet the delegates were soon aware of another and, to them, less surprising aspect of London, its slums. Quartered at first in the cheapest boardinghouses, they found themselves among prostitutes, drifters, beggars, and the pitiful dregs of London's East End. They had never before, they said, seen such human misery. This, they concluded, was the "Lumpen-proletariat." Fortunately many of the delegates were soon transferred to somewhat better lodgings in Whitechapel among the colony of Russian immigrants, mostly Jewish, where life was considerably more pleasant. Thus they were introduced into the homes of British trade unionists, but noted their bourgeois characteristics with mixed feelings. That the daughter of a skilled worker could take piano lessons, for example, and own a piano owned by her family, was startling to the delegates from Ivanovo Voznesensk. Otherwise the slums of London confirmed their prior convictions of the shortcomings of capitalist society, for the delegates noted with a certain grim satisfaction this "putrefaction" amidst imperial splendor. Then, on their first free Sunday, they rushed to Hyde Park, only to experience disappointment again, since they found the Londoners on the trolleys coarse and rude to foreigners even laughing openly at the strangeness of their habits. Hence the barriers of language, nationality, and class consciousness remained strong. And though the delegates established some few personal ties among the families with whom they were billeted, they were unable on a daily allowance of a half-crown to share even their humblest pleasures. The result was that in general they remained self-conscious and at times hostile onlookers among the people of London.⁷

So was it surprising then that the Russian Social Democrats should overlook almost completely many of the most vital stirrings in Great Britain during their visit? Anyway, speaking for the Bolsheviks at least, what could possibly be gained from a study of British life? For it may safely be assumed that the reaction of most of them to England, as to capitalist society in general, was not unlike that of Lenin in 1902 when he had first shown the sights of London to the young Trotsky. Here stood "*their* famous Westminster," Lenin had pointed out upon that occasion. Likewise all else was *theirs*. "Not emphatic at all, rather deeply organic and revealed by the pitch of his voice," was Trotsky's memory of Lenin, "this meaning was always obvious when he spoke of any kind of cultural values or new conquests. . . . *They* understood or *they* have, *they* have accomplished or succeeded—but always as

⁶ Gandurin, *Episody po odpolia*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*

enemies.”⁸ Lenin, of course, still more than Herzen or the other Russian émigrés, always lived within an exile’s world of his own devising which was profoundly hostile to his western environment. On the other hand, for the lesser delegates to the Fifth Congress, like the young Stalin, who naturally cued their own actions to those of their leaders within a protective shelter of language barriers and party discipline, any opportunities for broadening their horizons in England were even more circumscribed. It is clear that the delegates met in a Russian world, transferred to English soil only by the incidence of tsarist persecution.

Furthermore the larger setting of international politics in the spring of 1907 and Anglo-Russian relations in particular by no means tended to facilitate friendly intercourse between Russia’s revolutionaries and the British people. Even as the delegates were reaching England, for example, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times* expressed widespread fears that an extensive terrorist project for the purchase of arms in England was actually underway. Whatever the purpose of the congress was, he continued, sentimental naïveté should not be permitted to dictate the official British attitude toward the Russian Social Democrats. He took note that some official British quarters were urging tolerance for the London congress in order to strengthen the position of the more moderate Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks. But such a policy was shortsighted, he concluded, and could serve only to strengthen the faction of violent revolution in the long run, which when considered in the light of the uncertain internal balance in Russia might seriously embarrass the tsar’s government.⁹ These misgivings were more than shared by those reactionary circles in St. Petersburg who in principle rejected liberal parliamentarianism as dangerously radical, opposed the impending compromise over Asiatic spheres of influence, and would quite naturally be alarmed by any evidences of British hospitality to these enemies of the tsarist regime.¹⁰ As events were to show, British opinion was divided over the congress convening in its midst. With the Anglo-Russian convention pending, the British government was patently anxious to avoid incidents which might becloud the delicate negotiations. On the other hand many liberals sympathized deeply with the cause of the Russian revolution, and indeed took more than just a passing interest in the proceedings of the London congress. Ultimately matters hinged upon the British government’s refusal to abridge in any respect

⁸ Leon Trotsky, *Lenin* (New York, 1925), pp. 7–8.

⁹ *London Times*, May 13 and 17, 1907.

¹⁰ As brought out, for example, in Harold Nicolson’s *Portrait of a Diplomatist, Being the Life of Sir Arthur Nicolson, First Lord Carnock, and a Study of the Origins of the Great War* (Boston, 1930), pp. 152–81.

the traditional rights of asylum, assembly, and free speech.¹¹ Thus the revolutionary socialists were able to meet in relative peace on English soil and pursue their deliberations to the end.

II

The Fifth Congress opened its first general meeting Monday morning, May 13, at the Brotherhood Church, a "tin tabernacle" of Christian Socialist persuasion off Southgate Road, Islington. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., then a fire-breathing, black Scot of forty years, sporting a flaming red necktie, and speaking in behalf of his congregation which had somewhat unwittingly loaned its edifice for this memorable occasion, delivered an enthusiastic welcoming address to the delegates, some three hundred and twenty strong. The door was zealously guarded, with admission by official identity ticket only, while windows facing on the street were tightly closed, and the strictest secrecy imposed throughout.¹² Maxim Gorki, who arrived shortly after the opening of the congress from a self-imposed exile—"hungry for a Russian face, the sound of the Russian tongue, a glimpse of the 'giants' of the movement"—found the meeting hall "unadorned to the point of absurdity." In fact, he added: "Any resemblance to a church was restricted to the outside of the building. Inside there was no trace of anything ecclesiastical, and even the low pulpit, instead of standing at the far end of the hall, was placed at the entrance midway between the two doors."¹³ Actually it is difficult to imagine any possibly sharper contrast to the golden splendor of a Russian church with its incense and beseeching music.

Yet the use of even this dingy sanctuary had its troublesome aspects. Foremost, as time went on, was the congregation's growing impatience at the protracted deliberations of the Russians. Of necessity it had to be arranged for the congress to interrupt its sessions at least during the hours for Sunday services and Wednesday evening prayers. But otherwise day after day for more than three weeks the sessions continued in marathon deliberations. Even meals were obtainable on the spot. An enterprising restaurateur installed a buffet in the foyer of the church, where inexpensive refreshments were sold and also where Gorki's wife, the bewitchingly beautiful Maria F. Andreyeva, could sometimes be seen dispensing beer from a large barrel. As H. N. Brailsford, who was permitted to observe the proceedings, remarked at the time: "There can have been nothing quite like it since stealthy gather-

¹¹ *London Times Weekly Edition*, May 24, 1907; *London Daily News*, May 28, 1907.

¹² *London Daily News*, May 14, 1907; interview with Rafael R. Abramovitch, Jan. 20, 1954.

¹³ Gorki, *Days with Lenin*, pp. 4-6; Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 385.

ings of primitive Christians under the persecuting Emperors." Nor could the early Christians have been more isolated from their surroundings.¹⁴

At the onset of the congress, however, relations between the delegates on the one hand and the press and the police on the other proved most trying. In the first place it was obvious that the majority of London's newspapers shared to a considerable extent the initial alarm expressed by the unfriendly *Daily Mail* over this "congress of undesirables" composed of some "nameless army from Russia." So for various reasons, which were undoubtedly rooted in deep suspicion, they devoted scant space thereafter to its proceedings. For example, the *Times* somewhat smugly accepted the enthusiastic approbation of the Russian newspaper, *Slovo*, for "the reticence of the serious section of the English press" concerning the congress.¹⁵ To the greater distress of the delegates, however, some sensationalistic newspapers did manage to publish the names and photographs of certain delegates together with lurid, fictitious accounts of their revolutionary careers. In one such instance, as a Bolshevik recalled, the photograph of a young female worker-delegate appeared over a tabloid caption which described her as a princess, the daughter of a governor general, an assassin several times over in her own right, and one of the most frightful terrorists in Russia, where she customarily carried two bombs concealed upon her person.¹⁶ Such journalistic extravagances quite naturally increased the delegates' sense of isolation. They resented the deliberate misinterpretation of their actions as well as the implicit contempt for their motives. Indeed one effect of such reporting was seen from a letter which subsequently reached the Brotherhood Church addressed "To Maxime Gorky and the members of the Russian Social Democratic League for the assassination of the Tsar." Before long the delegates became fearful for their own safety because of the importunate attentions being bestowed upon them, until finally they formally protested the actions of the "yellow press." Thus: "We would call attention of the Press to the fact that in Russia for merely belonging to a Socialist organization one is liable to penal servitude, and we therefore hope that in view of this the English Press will not play the part of allies of Russian police spies."¹⁷

This last reference called attention dramatically to a number of men alleged to be British and Russian detectives purportedly patrolling the streets in the vicinity of the Brotherhood Church. These men, it was charged,

¹⁴ London *Daily News*, June 4, 1907; Wolfe, p. 384; Gandurin, *Episody podpolia*, p. 46.

¹⁵ London *Daily Mail*, May 10, 14, 1907; London *Times Weekly Edition*, May 24, 1907.

¹⁶ Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 204.

¹⁷ London *Daily News*, May 16, 18, 1907. See also: "The Pothouse Press and the Russian Social Democrats," London *Free Russia*, June, 1907.

mingled at times with the neighborhood hooligans who loitered in front of the church invariably hailing the appearance of each delegate with uncouth shouts and coarse invective.¹⁸ That some tsarist agents were actually on the spot seems highly probable when all factors are considered. Liadov among the delegates, for example, later insisted that all his movements and those of his associates were closely observed. According to him, moreover, the detectives were not unreasonable men, even permitting themselves to be treated to drinks while being plied with questions as to whether they spied for the British or the Russian government. It seems possible that this weird encounter may have involved British agents of dubious merit, for, if Liadov is to be believed, they revealed that they spied both on the Russian revolutionaries and the tsarist agents who were present—advice which must have been of scant comfort to the delegates.¹⁹ Furthermore J. Ramsay MacDonald insisted that Scotland Yard was aiding in this undercover work. “I have also been told,” he told a reporter indignantly, “that some members of the Criminal Investigation Department have been instructed by the authorities at Scotland Yard to trace the residence of every one of the 300 and odd members of the Russian delegation. This is simply scandalous.”²⁰ Secret counterrevolutionary activities were nothing new to the delegates of course, but it nevertheless adds considerable irony to history that a major impression taken home from their visit to one of the freest lands on earth was an indelible memory of police shadowing that apparently continued throughout their stay in the British capital.

Yet all these were peripheral matters as compared with the business of the congress. For here at least the future of the RSDLP was at stake, and in retrospect the fate of the entire revolutionary movement and all of Russia as well. The congress itself was composed of an unusually brilliant galaxy of revolutionary theorists and practitioners, and its sessions claimed their full attention. In fact, years afterward Angelica Balabanov recalled that “the general theoretical and scientific level of the discussion was higher than in any gathering of revolutionaries” she had ever attended.²¹

The five constituent delegations filled the dingy pews of the Brotherhood Church. To the right of the pulpit sat the Mensheviks, to the left the Bolsheviks. The Poles gathered in the left center of the nave, the Jews of the Bund in the right center, with the Letts of the Baltic provinces holding a decisive

¹⁸ *London Daily News*, May 18, 22, 23, 1907.

¹⁹ *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 205.

²⁰ *London Daily News*, May 23, 1907. And on May 27, the Home Secretary, Herbert Gladstone, felt compelled to deny allegations in the House of Commons that British police were actually shadowing and photographing the delegates. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1907.

²¹ *My Life as a Rebel*, p. 72; Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 381.

balance in between. Leon Trotsky, fresh from his second Siberian exile, vainly tried to form still another bloc of the "non-factional." But he could enlist just three other delegates for his cause, and in most instances these four votes only augmented Lenin's slim majority. Here assembled were patriarchs as well as disciples: Plekhanov, Axelrod, Deutsch, and Zasulich of the founding generation; Lenin, Martov, Alexinsky, Tseretelli, and little Theodore Dan behaving, according to Gorki, as though he was "Karl Marx incarnate," of the generation of implementation; and Stalin in an extremely obscure capacity but symbolic in retrospect of the remorseless logic of the proletarian revolution. Of the Bundists two must be mentioned, Rafael Abramovitch and M. I. Lieber (Goldman), both of whom would be elected to the party's Central Committee by the congress. Rosa Luxemburg and her close companion, Jan Tyszka (Lev Grozowski) headed the Polish bloc, and the famous "Comrade Herman" (Danishevsky) led the Letts. Nor in any recital of personalities could Krustalev be neglected, the unheralded lawyer who, for a few incredible weeks in 1905, had so successfully challenged the authority of the government that the authority of the tsar was profoundly shaken, and Witte had wondered whether if he did not arrest Krustalev he would himself be arrested by him. For the lesser delegates the mere sight of these figures, the heroes of their movement, was one of the most inspiring features of the entire congress.²²

At the base of the debates, which were alternately superficial and profound, there simmered the unresolved conflict over the fundamental nature of the party and its tactics for revolution. These issues were crucial and complex. They cropped up first in the organizational wrangling which lasted for an entire week, again in the two days consumed fixing an agenda, in the three days discussing the report of the Central Committee, and in the six days devoted to the report of the Duma group. Upon each of these matters in turn the delegates poured forth all that was pent up inside them. "Now they were going to say," notes Bertram D. Wolfe, "all that the censorship and vicissitudes of prison and exile had forced them to leave unsaid. They were going to settle all the past, appraise the experience of two years of revolution, apportion the blame for defeat, resolve all the problems of the unforeseeable future." Each orator spoke as though the fate of the congress hung upon his words, as though he must have his say at length even if he reiterated what others had said before him, as though he himself might be able to convince and reconvince the last convert to his faction, win away

²² Brailsford, "The London Congress," *London Daily News*, June 4, 1907; Wolfe, pp. 381-85; Popov, *Outline History of the C.P.S.U.*, I, 208-209; Gorki, *Days with Lenin*, pp. 12-17.

some waverer from the opposition, or persuade the tiny reservoir of neutrals whose votes could break the deadlock. Every resolution was dickered over interminably in caucus, then compromised and blurred until it could command at least a slim majority. Nothing was too minute for detailed consideration. Perhaps in unconscious testimony to their conspicuous lack of practical governing experience, the delegates were proceeding along the course that any revolutionary activity necessarily had to be "preceded and guided by complete theoretical clarification." However "complete theoretical clarification" quickly proved unattainable even under so determined and efficient a chairman as Lenin. Fundamentally the trouble was that the differences between the moderates and the extremists were already of long standing, being divisively rooted in differing conceptions of the nature of the Russian revolutionary process. As a result, as the sessions wore on, the debates veered increasingly from issues to personalities, until the congress eventually became engulfed in "an all-absorbing, almost fanatical spirit of factionalism" which dismayed sympathetic English onlookers and mocked the very name of the Brotherhood Church. The breach between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks grew ever wider to the point where they opposed each other ultimately on almost every question of policy and tactics. Toward the end in fact the attention of all delegates became increasingly concentrated upon Plekhanov and Lenin, the heads of the two great factions. Maxim Gorki later recalled that he had rarely encountered two mighty protagonists with so little in common as this pair. But this was to be expected, he decided. "The one was finishing his work of destroying the old world, the other was beginning the construction of a new."²³

Naturally no English sights or political developments could possibly compete with such all-absorbing matters as these, so the bitter struggles went on isolated within a uniquely Russian, revolutionary world planted squarely amidst the diversions of London. And yet before the congress had ended, the two worlds, capitalist and socialist, were destined to meet, paradoxically enough over a question of money.

III

For it was the dwindling of the delegates' financial resources that added a further jarring note to the affairs of the congress. Many of them had exhausted their personal funds on the long journey to London. Now they were

²³ Brailsford, "The Russian Congress," *London Daily News*, June 4, 1907; Levin, "Conference of Russian Socialists in London," *London Justice* May 18, 1907; Balabanov, pp. 72-74; Wolfe, pp. 384-85; Gorki, pp. 11-17, 29; "D," "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907; *Protokoly*, *passim*.

learning how difficult it was to exist on their small daily allowance from party funds. Also the worker-delegates were becoming increasingly fearful of overstaying the leaves granted from their jobs in Russia, while almost all even lacked their fares for the long passage home. Temporarily Deutsch, Plekhanov, Balabanov, and Gorki were pressed into service as an Economic Committee to seek additional funds in London. But before long money matters reached the stage of an approaching crisis.²⁴

As a result, at a secret evening session of the congress on Thursday, May 23, Leo Deutsch, speaking for the Economic Committee, reported that the congress would have to be suspended immediately for want of funds, and that the Brotherhood Church must be vacated on the following day. All efforts to obtain money had proved fruitless, he went on. Plekhanov had approached a well-to-do Englishman, whose name was not mentioned, for a loan of £2,000 to wind up the sessions and send the delegates home, an obligation which would be guaranteed by all fractions of the party. The Englishman had offered only £300 however; others would have to make up the remainder. The committee had also written to sympathizers in Birmingham, but no satisfactory reply had been received. Thereupon Deutsch and Plekhanov declared they could do no more. Then the question arose whether Gorki could not raise the necessary money. He had frequently acted as the party's financial "angel," it was pointed out. Besides he enjoyed great esteem with Britain's people, one Englishman even having described him as the "Gor-key" to British purses. However, Gorki, who apparently was earlier willing to undertake this task, was now being dissuaded by his Bolshevik friends in an obvious attempt to exploit the party's financial crisis, saying he would do nothing as long as the present Central Committee remained in office. Bitterly stung by this turn of events, Martov cried out for the furious Mensheviks: "Is it true that one man demands of the entire party the removal of the Central Committee?"²⁵

Angrily now the delegates wrangled on. A voice urged the congress to plead personally with Gorki, but Lenin's henchman, Victor Taratuta of Schmitt legacy renown, declared it would be improper to impose the entire task on one man alone. Taratuta also suggested that if Gorki were used to solicit money the responsibility for repayment must be assumed by the party

²⁴ *Protokoly*, pp. 686-92; Leon Trotsky, *My Life: An Attempt at Auto-biography* (New York, 1930), p. 202; Balabanov, p. 74. Official Bolshevik history levies all blame for the shortage of funds upon the opposition. Thus: "The conduct of this Congress strikingly revealed the incapacity of the Menshevik Central Committee to arrange a congress in an organized manner. . . . In spite of its contacts with the bourgeoisie the Menshevik Central Committee failed to provide sufficient funds to conduct the Congress." Popov, *Outline History of the C.P.S.U.*, I, 205.

²⁵ *Protokoly*, pp. 686-92.

as a whole, with every fraction guaranteeing its specified share. Interestingly enough this proposal brought out the fact that the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, unlike the Bund, the Poles, or the Letts, had no central committees of their own, so that some other form of guarantee would have to be found for them. Thereupon two proposals were carried: first that Gorki be called before the congress at once, though it developed he could not be found; and second that the congress continue somehow despite its financial dilemma, which it proceeded to do. Next it was asked whether the Continental socialist parties could not be asked for support in this crisis? Yet here again the situation was discouraging. The German Social Democratic party, which had contributed generously earlier in the year, bluntly refused to come to the rescue now, it was reported. To add insult to injury Deutsch quoted the contemptuous rebuke of Paul Singer, the chairman of the German party, ridiculing the Russians for accomplishing no more than to "sit for forty days in their congresses, drink a lot of tea, and smoke *papirosy*." An irritated delegate cried out, "But *they* drink beer!" Then Deutsch added that the French were as insolvent as the Russians, but that small sums had been received from Danish and Swedish socialists toward the unexpectedly high transportation costs of the Russians. Whereupon the Bolsheviks, abetted this time by the Poles, displayed further intransigence by abstaining from the vote when Martov moved acceptance of these gifts in the name of the party. An aura of gloomy frustration settled perceptibly over the proceedings. "We have sat a long time, but have done nothing," remarked a Menshevik despairing because of the factional strife. "If we had labored productively, we would have been able to get the money." In evident desperation, however, they were all forced to concede that Gorki was still their best card. For, as Plekhanov pleaded, he himself was known in England only among socialists, and they were as poor here as elsewhere. Only Gorki had access to wealthy Englishmen. So a majority of the delegates directed a special second appeal to Gorki through the presidium of the congress, and, added a voice from the floor, also to Plekhanov to try once again.²⁶

Next the question as to when the congress should close was referred back to the Economic Committee. At any rate, Lenin stated, it definitely would not adjourn for at least two more days. Yet if the congress did not end by Saturday, asked a worker, when would it end? Indeed for the worker-delegates this was a crucial question. Comprising almost one third of the attendance at the congress, many of them stood to lose their jobs even if they managed to escape detention at the frontier, and thereby their positions to

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Wolfe, p. 380.

influence the mass of factory workers if they did not return before the stipulated deadlines. No definite assurances were forthcoming that night, however, only the promise that the question would be taken up informally on the morrow. Anyway how could the congress go on even a short time longer if, as Deutsch had said, there was no more money to pay for the hall or even the food and lodging of the delegates? But where could Gorki and Plekhanov turn for help? And to whom?²⁷

Surprisingly enough a number of contact points existed between these Russian revolutionaries and influential elements of English society. Perhaps foremost was Prince Peter Kropotkin, the brilliant and genial anarchist long a resident of London, who was widely known and admired among the delegates. Also a resident of London was Fanny Stepniak, representing an earlier generation of revolutionaries and attending the congress as its guest. Fedor Rothstein, a Marxist who had left Russia as a youth during the 1890's and was in 1907 an English Social Democrat on the staff of the *Daily News* as well as an editor of *Free Russia*—the organ of the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom—could be depended upon. So could his staff associate, H. N. Brailsford. Additionally H. M. Hyndman, Harry Quelch, Cunningham Graham, Mrs. Bridges Adams, the Fisher Unwins, and Ramsay MacDonald among others of the left wing were already attracted to the Russians' cause. Somewhat removed, yet on the outer periphery of these circles, ranged small but influential clusters of liberals who were openly sympathetic to almost any sign of improvement over tsarist despotism. Some of these of course merely being adventurous dilettantes, as Angelica Balabanov remembered them, titillated easily "with tales of persecution in darkest Russia." Finally there was still another group whose interest in the proceedings stemmed primarily from their enthusiasm for Russian literature. Constance Garnett, the well-known translator of Turgenev, Chekhov, and Tolstoy, was the most prominent among these. In placing their hopes for financial assistance upon Maxim Gorki, the delegates had chosen as their representative one best calculated to enlist English sympathies and assistance.²⁸

However, with the single exception of a grand dinner party given by Felix Moscheles, the artist, on Sunday evening, May 26, the records are unfortunately silent upon what must have been some revealing encounters between Russia's revolutionaries and the world of English liberalism. Yet this particular affair did occur significantly just when the Russians were openly

²⁷ *Protokoly*, pp. 686-92.

²⁸ Brailsford, "When Lenin and Stalin Were in London," *Listener*, XXXIX, 29-30; London *Justice*, June 1, 1907; London *Free Russia*, June, 1907, and Jan.-Mar., 1908; David Garnett, *The Golden Echo* (London, 1953), I, 113-20; Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, p. 74.

courting English largesse. It is not certain exactly who were among the numerous English guests apart from Constance Garnett and her son, David, representing that London society which in past generations had lionized Mazzini and Garibaldi, and Fanny Stepniak acting as intermediary between the two groups. But the Russian guests were the luminaries of the congress, Gorki, of course, Plekhanov, Lenin, Tseretelli, Angelica Balabanov, and two others. It is safe to assume that their desperate need to secure funds was uppermost in the minds of the Russian Social Democrats, and this, coupled with the inevitable sartorial crisis precipitated by the shabbiness of their garb, rendered them nervous and extremely ill at ease. It was a strained gathering from the start, nor was the ice ever to thaw properly. And the well-meaning Moscheles, who was himself a godson to Felix Mendelssohn as well as an indefatigable exponent of pacifist causes, unwittingly touched off several awkward moments because of the lavishness of his hospitality, the condescension of certain of his English friends, and the doctrinaire reactions of his impecunious guests from Russia.²⁹

Many years later Angelica Balabanov recalled one such instance: "After dinner we were obliged to stroll through the picture gallery and exclaim at the masterpieces. It was in front of one of these that Gorki paused and remarked in Russian, 'How terrible!' Our host looked to Plekhanov to translate the remark of his celebrated guest, and I felt a sudden panic at the fate of our loan. There was no ripple in Plekhanov's urbanity as he saved the day, 'Comrade Gorki has merely exclaimed "How remarkable!"' he assured his host."³⁰

Lenin's comment, in a brief report of the Moscheles party to the congress next evening, was extremely laconic, yet it spoke volumes for what he omitted. "Upon instruction of Comrade Kagan," said Lenin, "I went last night to the artist Moscheles. There were Gorki, Plekhanov, Tseretelli, Elkin, and F. Stepniak. A stupid affair this evening party. One of the Englishmen addressed the gathering. There were answers. Plekhanov also spoke. Applause. We were unable to get the loan."³¹

Yet in private, Lenin or some other guest close to the Bolshevik faction must have been far more communicative. For the report which made the rounds among the Bolshevik delegates, where Stalin most likely heard it too, was far more substantial with each detail obviously improving from successive retellings. In the first place, so this story went, this "parade banquet," so

²⁹ Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, pp. 203 ff.; Balabanov, pp. 74-75; Garnett, I, 117-18.

³⁰ Balabanov, pp. 74-75. But Balabanov has left the false impression that a loan was actually forthcoming as a direct result of this party.

³¹ *Protokoly*, p. 786, n. 159.

called in honor of the Russian revolution, at which the Russian leaders hoped to win financial assistance, called for formal clothes, which they did not possess. So it was arranged that ordinary clothes be worn. Yet just the same the Russians were greatly excited. There was much ado before dinner, and they all washed thoroughly and brushed their hair in order "not to disgrace themselves." At the party however, this account continues, the Russians stood uncomfortably surrounded by a milling throng of glittering ladies and gentlemen impeccably attired in evening dress, a crowd which was unable to converse with them and so simply stared "literally as at wild beasts in a zoological garden." Lenin was in a terrible rage to be trapped in such a humiliating situation. He wanted to spit on it all and leave, it was said, yet stayed on in the hope that the speeches would soon begin and the Russians could come to the point of their financial plight. Instead the English continued to stare at them in silence, or haltingly asked a few questions as foolish as those put by the London press. Lenin prodded Plekhanov to speak, but the Menshevik leader stubbornly refused. Finally Lenin could restrain himself no longer and began his own speech in Russian. His words were blunt and undiplomatic. "We know," Lenin reportedly announced to the English, "that you are our class enemies, and that you cannot understand our proletarian revolution. But as bourgeoisie and capitalists you should be interested in the victory of our revolution over tsarism, because that victory will give you a chance to export more goods into a more cultured, free Russia. It is to your interest, therefore, to support our party, because only we can carry this revolution to its conclusion." Since Lenin spoke in Russian, Plekhanov translated "in his own fashion," so the Bolshevik story goes, omitting all the rough edges and placing Lenin's thoughts in a milder context. Then the English applauded. Nothing was said about the money however.³²

Despite all its factional embellishments, this story nevertheless contains much vital truth. According to Tseretelli, whose account seems the most trustworthy, Lenin indeed did speak for about three minutes in his native tongue. Moreover he spoke with obvious uncertainty, being noticeably ill at ease as though his presence patently belied his convictions. Fanny Stepniak translated while he spoke. Also, according to Tseretelli, Lenin's words amounted in effect to little more than: We are revolutionaries seeking only the same liberties for Russia which you already enjoy here in England. We need money for our cause. You must help us! And that was all.³³ Plekhanov spoke next, charmingly in French, his witty remarks and simple directness

³² Liadov, pp. 203 ff.

³³ Interview with I. Tseretelli, Jan. 20, 1954.

provoking laughter and applause among the audience. Then the gathering dispersed with many of the guests including Lenin strolling out to the garden. Tseretelli, his curiosity aroused by Lenin's remarkably inept performance, joined Lenin, and after a bit asked him why he had been so abrupt in his remarks. Thereupon Lenin poured forth his pent-up anger and embarrassment, speaking softly so as not to be overheard but in a voice filled with emotion, that he was unsuited for such work as this. It was apparent to Tseretelli that Lenin felt deeply humiliated. It would have to be for others to solicit the money from now on, those who were more accustomed to hobnobbing with capitalists. As for himself, Lenin concluded, he personally would have nothing more to do with it.³⁴ In other words, Lenin's attitude had not changed since he talked to Trotsky five years previously about *their* Westminster. *Theirs* was still another world.

As for the reactions of the English guests little remains beyond expressions of a general regret that the more polished and tolerant Mensheviks were in a minority at the congress. Constance Garnett carried away a favorable impression of Lenin as a leader of "tremendously strong character, intelligent, and humane in outlook," but thought that many of the other Bolsheviks were clearly dishonest and of a moral caliber vastly inferior to Fanny Stepniak and the older generation of Russian revolutionaries. For her own judgment of the Bolsheviks, Fanny Stepniak exclaimed as she departed, "What a lot of self-righteous crooks!"³⁵ Therefore it was apparent that even the most sympathetic element of English society had failed to bridge the barriers of nationality, language, and class antagonisms which separated them from the Russians. And, if the leaders of the Russian Social Democratic party with all their worldly experience made so little headway in English society, it was equally obvious that the rank and file delegates were still more thoroughly insulated against any possibly broadening effects of their sojourn in England.

After the fiasco of the Moscheles party, the financial troubles of the delegates seemed ever so much more grave. On Monday evening May 27, another secret session was called to debate what was to be done next. Unlike the earlier session, however, this one was to end in an unexpectedly satisfactory way.³⁶

Victor Taratuta, the Bolshevik, opened the discussion by announcing that if money could be found the congress would last two days longer, but if not it would have to close on the morrow. Somewhat sardonically he added that,

³⁴ I. Tseretelli to Arthur P. Dudden, Aug. 27, 1954.

³⁵ Garnett, I, 118.

³⁶ *Protokoly*, pp. 693-96.

inasmuch as there were no funds available for the return passage, it mattered very little whether the congress closed or not. He concluded with a stinging attack upon the Mensheviks for parsimoniously seeking to end this congress which had already cost 100,000 rubles, he stated, and while there were still 170 rubles left. Taratuta's words precipitated a prolonged outburst from all sides of the bitter factionalism so characteristic of the entire gathering. A Menshevik denied the charges against his bloc. It was not the fault of the Mensheviks that the delegates were going hungry in London, he emphasized, nor that it was almost impossible to live on so pitiful an allowance. Nor would it solve anything to extend the congress for two more days; at least a week was needed. And what of the worker-delegates who were chafing to return to their jobs? he inquired. Without them no congress could be held. One worker rose to underscore these remarks, advising that they must all reconcile themselves to the fact that the congress had not accomplished a single thing. But if there is no money for fares, how can we get home anyway? queried another.⁸⁷

Then hardier voices spoke up. Said one: We must finish our task, for we dare not return with nothing to show for our efforts. We cannot face our constituents empty-handed, nor will the proletariat be led with outdated resolutions. We can endure hunger in London, we have all been hungrier in Russia. A Lett was even more forthright: "For twelve days we have seen only factional quarrels here. Yet the workers did not send us to express our ill-feelings. All Russia looks to us. For what shall we return? To lose our jobs? That's a weak reason—for the Lettish delegation the absence of money is no reason to leave. We must take some decisions with us!" Then Alexinski, one of the Duma deputies and a Bolshevik, dramatically appealed to the Russian proletariat to judge the delegates and strengthen their resolve. And still another speaker: "As a worker, I ask you what is dear to you—your job or the interests of the party? I think it is the latter." Yet his voice trailed off into the dilemma that confronted them all: "You can't live on two shillings, it is true. We are all equally guilty." At last Ionov spoke for the Bund. The Bundists, he began, did not subscribe to all the views of the Mensheviks. For it was regrettable that the congress had to close before its task was done, although it was admittedly true that the delegates could no longer meet their living expenses. Neither was it possible to support the position of the Bolsheviks. How did they propose to manage? Certainly the factions must not be left to function separately; that would mean the destruction of the party. "The Bolsheviks and the Poles," he continued, but he was suddenly and abruptly

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

cut off by Deutsch, who rushed in excitedly with Fanny Stepniak and Bochka. "I have been with a big capitalist," Deutsch shouted excitedly. "I got £300 from the German [Social Democratic] Party. Then we went to the manufacturer [*sic*], and asked for £1,700. He agreed readily, demanding only that we all sign a list. We three signed for the repayment of the money by the first of January [1908]. I suggest that we elect Gorki and Plekhanov as recipients of the money, and Bochka as treasurer. He gives the money only for our departure, so we must leave on Thursday [May 30, 1907]."³⁸ At last money had been found, and the delegates at once voted to accept the terms of the loan. But who was the mysterious manufacturer?

IV

Joseph Fels was his name, and he was an American. He was then the senior partner of that Philadelphia firm of soapmakers which produced the familiar "Fels-Naptha" laundry soap, and since 1901 he had lived in England supervising European sales for his company. By 1907, however, he had become almost better known for his support of a wide variety of social reforms than for his contribution to human cleanliness.³⁹

Fels was born near Richmond, Virginia, in 1854, of German-Jewish parents who had fled together with their three elder children from the turbulent aftermath of the upheaval of 1848. Most of Fels's boyhood was spent in North Carolina, where his father operated a general store while doubling as postmaster in the small town of Yanceyville. The major influences upon his youthful character were those of a humble and self-contained Jewish immigrant family, adjusted in turn to the mores of an American southern country town which was largely isolated from the main currents of national affairs. His own basic instincts were a blend of Jewish humanitarianism and those of Jacksonian democracy, and were stridently individualistic and spontaneously democratic from the beginning. In 1866 the disruption of southern society forced the Fels family to move northward, first to Baltimore and ultimately to Philadelphia by 1873. Henceforth the Fels family prospered steadily though modestly in the soap business, until finally, during the depression years following the panic of 1893, Joseph Fels spectacularly advanced the

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 695.

³⁹ No worth-while biography of Joseph Fels has been written as yet. Fels's widow did publish two slightly different volumes of eulogy in her own name which are valuable sources, though others are known to have done much of their preparation. See: Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work* (New York, 1916), and *The Life of Joseph Fels* (New York, 1940); also Arthur P. Dudden, "Joseph Fels of Philadelphia and London," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIX (April, 1955), 143-66. In addition there are the Joseph Fels Papers, numbering over 900 items at present, and generously made available to the authors for purposes of this study.

fortunes of Fels & Company by acquiring and promoting the naphtha process for a laundry soap with a built-in solvent which was to become at once his fortune and namesake. He had at last taken full advantage of the opportunities which his life held out for him.⁴⁰

Yet it was at this stage of his life that he, the son of immigrant parents, became obsessed by a growing compulsion to banish poverty from industrial society and contribute greatly thereby to improving the lot of his fellow men. He inclined before long to the rather inchoate notion that any practical solution for the "land question," one which would remove people from urban margins as wage earners to the countryside as self-sustaining agriculturists instead, should have his wholehearted support. In the United States, for example, he supported the vacant-land cultivation movement begun in the late 1890's as a palliative for unemployment and also flirted from afar with a Henry Georgeist single-tax colony on the inhospitable shores of Mobile Bay. And in England, as soon as his affairs were profitably established, he plunged into a strange assortment of reform programs and land colony ventures. He first became a benefactor of Keir Hardie, then an intimate friend and ardent supporter of George Lansbury, and subsequently something of an enigma to George Bernard Shaw and the Webbs, who tried in vain to snare him for Fabian socialism. In fact the barrier between England's pioneer socialists and Joseph Fels lay in the latter's dogged insistence that agriculture offered a plausible escape from urban distress. "But it is always the same," Shaw taunted; "the lunacy of country life always attacks the manufacturer first."⁴¹ Fels, however, could not be dissuaded. "The whole land question is what concerns me," he had told a reporter in 1905, and he never deviated thereafter from his conviction that mankind's troubles stemmed from the fact that the good earth was still monopolized by a very few. Furthermore, by 1907, Joseph Fels had become certain that only Henry George's single-tax panacea afforded any substantial possibility for attaining his goals. Yet until his death in 1914 he retained a sympathetic ear for any reform proposal which emphasized a more equitable distribution of the soil. In a Russian setting, Joseph Fels might conceivably have become a Populist or a Socialist Revolutionary, a member of the Bund or even a Bolshevik like

⁴⁰ This account of his early life is pieced together from numerous letters, obituaries, and memorial addresses in the Joseph Fels Papers; and also from Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work*, pp. 1-16; Earl Barnes, "The Evolution of Joseph Fels," Cleveland (Ohio) *Ground Hog*, Feb. 20, 1915; interview with Harold W. Pile, Mar. 31, 1953.

⁴¹ Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work*, *passim*; Barnes, "The Evolution of Joseph Fels"; Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, CVII, n.s. (June, 1920), 918-28; Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership*, ed. Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole (New York and London, 1948), p. 291; George Bernard Shaw to Joseph Fels, Mar. 23, 1909, Joseph Fels Papers.

Litvinov, but in the freer societies of the United States and England he was content with his moderate reformist ways.⁴²

So it came about then that the plight of the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party was brought to the attention of Joseph Fels. A subcommittee representing all factions had approached Fedor Rothstein, who turned at once for help to his friend and colleague of the *Daily News*, H. N. Brailsford. It seems most likely that this occurred early Saturday, May 25, although it cannot be determined exactly. Brailsford, so he recalls, thought immediately of Joseph Fels, whom he had met two or three times previously, admiring him as "a man both generous and broadminded" whose "firm belief in the single tax did not check his sympathy with other 'leftish' movements." Upon being reached by telephone, Fels agreed to see Brailsford and Rothstein at once. Soon Fels received the pair affably at his offices in the City. He heard their request and seemed on the verge of agreeing to help, whereupon he hesitated, saying he must first consult his "almoner." Brailsford's hopes chilled, until he saw in the doorway the familiar, sympathetic features of George Lansbury, then a member of the Board of Guardians for Poplar Union and eventually a leading figure in the Labour party. Lansbury instantly agreed this would be an excellent means of investing Fels's "superfluous wealth." Thereupon Fels decided he would like to see the congress in session. Soon all four of them were in a taxi hurrying to Islington, so Brailsford remembers, stopping enroute only long enough to call for cash at Fels's bank in case it would be needed. Upon arriving at the Brotherhood Church, they were ushered into gallery seats. On the rostrum below them, Lenin was speaking, and they listened silently for about twenty minutes as without visible emotion he delivered a closely reasoned attack against the Mensheviks, which, according to Brailsford, who was close to the Mensheviks, destroyed forever any hope of restoring unity among the factions. Fels, though not understanding a word of Russian, was obviously moved by the intentness of the proceedings and the purposefulness of the delegates on the floor below. His sympathies were enlisted. Suddenly he turned to Lansbury, and declared: "I will lend the money," adding as an afterthought his wish to have the signatures of all the delegates.⁴³

⁴² Philadelphia Press, Mar. 7, 1905; D'Arcy Cresswell, *Margaret McMillan: A Memoir* (London, 1948), pp. 128-29; Joseph Fels to W. H. Gregg, Jan. 13, 1906, and to Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen, Aug. 14, 1912, Joseph Fels Papers; Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work*, *passim*; Henry George, *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth . . .* (San Francisco, 1879), *passim*.

⁴³ Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, Jan. 12, 1954; Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, XXXIX, 30; H. N. Brailsford to Arthur P. Dudden, Apr. 12, 1953. For more of the same from Henry Noel Brailsford but in other contexts see: Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London, 1951), pp. 69-70; Garnett, *The Golden Echo*,

But apparently the delegates themselves were not immediately advised of his intentions, perhaps because the negotiations were scarcely begun. Indeed, as will be recalled, it was not until late Monday evening, May 27, *after* both the Moscheles party and the subsequent wrangle over party finances, that Deutsch announced that assistance had at last been found. Meanwhile Fels and Rothstein at least must have been closeted with representatives of the Economic Committee, probably Deutsch, Stepniak, and Bochka, to complete the details of the transaction including the exact amount of the loan. And since Fels agreed to advance the loan only upon the condition of the delegates' immediate departure, an arrangement which much more suited the policy of the Mensheviks than the Bolsheviks, it thereupon becomes problematical how the Menshevik position was made to prevail. Nevertheless a strange yet businesslike transaction was to be consummated, the loan without interest of the Russian equivalent of about 20,000 rubles from an American capitalist in England to a devoted band of Russian socialist revolutionaries who were dedicated to the overthrow of the very class which he represented in their eyes. Moreover the entire episode served to stress once again the startling lack of sympathetic communication between the Russians and the world outside the walls of the Brotherhood Church. For the average delegate only realized quite vaguely that some wealthy capitalist, English he believed and a "queer duck" in truth, had been successfully prevailed upon for assistance, so that his own immediate worries were thereby relieved—thanks of course to the fruitful achievements of his own comrades who found the man with the money. Never for one moment did anyone interrupt the debates to speculate upon the implications of this loan for their own dialectical materialism or upon Fels's motives!⁴⁴

Equally for Fels there was apparently nothing incongruous about his remarkable encounter with these Russian Marxists. In the first place, though this was probably the least of his motives if he thought of it at all, he stepped

I, 116-17; and upon the occasion of the death of Stalin, *Manchester Guardian*, Mar. 7, 9, 1953, and *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Mar. 12, 1953. Although Brailsford repeatedly errs in characterizing Fels as a refugee Russian Jew anxious to combat the pogroms in the land of his birth, and also in itemizing the amount of the loan at £500 instead of £1700, he is apparently more to be trusted than accounts pieced together from Soviet sources which attempt to claim all credit for the Bolsheviks in general for getting the money and Maxim Gorki in particular. See, for example, Lenin, *Sochineniia* (4th ed.; Moscow, 1950), XXXIV, 415, n. 262; Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 385; Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, pp. 74-75; and J. Anthony Marcus, "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, LXXVIII (April, 1954), 67-71. This last citation not only provides a remarkable illustration of the hazards of indiscriminately employing inadequately evaluated Soviet sources to demonstrate one's own anti-Communism—in that it is filled with the kind of substantial errors of fact by which the Bolsheviks have distorted the history of the Russian Revolution to their own propaganda purposes—but emphasizes in addition by its own shortcomings the pitfalls of lifting past events out of their historical context.

⁴⁴ Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 204; Gandurin, *Episody podpolia*, p. 46; *Protokoly*, p. 695; Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 202.

into the breach just when the congress was threatening to become a public charge and potentially therefore an international incident embarrassing to the Liberal government. Secondly, Joseph Fels entertained a deep personal sympathy for the individual victims of Russian despotism, and demonstrated it repeatedly. It is believed that Fels had already read Deutsch's harrowing account of his sixteen years' exile in Siberia, and upon several occasions he intervened charitably to assist talented young refugees from Russia, especially musicians. Thus could George Lansbury insist it was "out of sheer love of humanity" that Fels made the loan.⁴⁵

Yet Fels's strongest motives were undoubtedly of a still more general nature and rooted in those broad concepts of social justice he embodied—ideals which were almost exactly contrary to existing conditions inside Russia. He was concerned above all with the prompt eradication of poverty together with its attendant trail of woes, and he allied himself with all kindred spirits engaged in that fight whether they fought under the banners of the single tax, Fabian socialism, Zionism, the Labour party, or the Liberal party. Before 1901 in the United States he had begun his transformation from businessman to reformer. By 1907 in England he was emerging full-blown as the spearhead of various land reform movements. Indeed by 1909 his purse would finance a great part of that spectacular agitation which carried Lloyd George's budget with its provisions for land taxation and which precipitated thereby an even more climactic parliamentary struggle leading to the death of the veto power in the House of Lords. Thus, in 1907, Joseph Fels saw in tsarist Russia the same hostile forces of landed aristocracy he was fighting in Great Britain, although still more deeply entrenched and distasteful, resting as they did upon systematic police brutality and virulent anti-Semitism. Therefore it was not at all surprising that Fels should concern himself with the fate of the Russian Social Democrats. Personal ties led straight from his own liberal reformist circles in England into the ranks of the Mensheviks particularly. Nor did any impossible barriers seem to stand in the way of co-operation with the RSDLP in general. However it was considerably different with the Bolsheviks, who persisted for their part in rigidly identifying every capitalist with the enemy, even those of whom, like Fels, temporary use might be made. Yet who in 1907 could have possibly foretold that eventually the Bolsheviks would crush the Mensheviks completely? All that mattered for the moment was the immediate improvement in the lot of the mass of the Russian people. Hence the

⁴⁵ Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia . . .*, trans. Helen Chisholm (London, 1905); George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards* (London, 1935), p. 225; *London Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 27, 1914; Peter Kropotkin to Joseph Fels, Sept. 11, 1908, Joseph Fels to Daniel Kiefer, Oct. 22, 1910, and to Nicola Fantini, Sept. 24, 1912, Joseph Fels Papers.

granting of a loan for seven months to the congress of the RSDLP can scarcely be regarded as excessive generosity on the part of Joseph Fels. He was convinced that single-tax land reforms could perform utopian wonders anywhere but especially in Russia, where so much needed to be done, and he knew, as did all informed single-taxers, that even there Henry George's doctrines had made considerable headway with the great Count Tolstoy as leading apostle. In advancing his money to this ragged group of wrangling Marxists, Joseph Fels simply cast some bread hopefully upon the waters. He loaned his money just as he had invested it before in his English land colony schemes. He fully expected to get it back in keeping with good business ethics. Only in the lurid aftermath of the kaleidoscopic events of 1917, when the names of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin were being emblazoned across the pages of history, can it be suggested that he received an entirely unexpected reward and that many thousand-fold.⁴⁶

On May 30, the final day of the congress, the promissory note lay ready for signing. Its brief preamble read: "We the undersigned delegates to the Congress, for and on behalf of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, hereby promise to Mr. Joseph Fels on or before the first of January, 1908, the sum of seventeen hundred pounds sterling, being the amount of a loan generously granted without interest." And then, headed by the firm signature of Leo Deutsch, some two hundred and forty delegates signed this remarkable testimonial of their indebtedness to a capitalist.⁴⁷ Not everyone signed, although all were urged to do so. Lenin reportedly did much of the urging, yet he himself did not sign, which was scarcely surprising, considering his attitude at the Moscheles' party. One by one, according to Brailsford, as the process of signing went on, the leaders of the delegations climbed up to the gallery to express their gratitude to Joseph Fels. Plekhanov arrived first, speaking graciously in perfect French. Trotsky came next, dynamic and erect, cordially greeting Fels in fluent German. Meanwhile, on the main floor below, surrounded by his cohorts, Lenin slowly approached the iron stairs leading to the gallery. Joking and laughing he permitted his burly figure to be pushed up the steps. Then, face to face with his bourgeois benefactor, Lenin uttered no formal expression of thanks as Plekhanov and Trotsky had done, just a few brusquely spoken acknowledgments in German, whereupon he sat down

⁴⁶ Fels, *Joseph Fels, His Life-Work*, *passim*, and *The Life of Joseph Fels*, p. 175 *et passim*; Joseph Fels to C. N. Macintosh, Aug. 21, 1912, Joseph Fels Papers.

⁴⁷ From a photostatic reproduction, *Protokoly*, pp. 696 ff. The original note is now preserved in Moscow by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute, with a photostatic copy currently being displayed at the Museum of the Revolution. Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, Jan. 12, 1954. See also: Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 385; Marcus, "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, LXXVIII, 68-69.

beside Joseph Fels while the proceedings were concluded. Finally, as Lenin rose to leave, Brailsford adds, Fels pressed into his hands one of the single-tax tracts which he always had available in his pocket! But nothing can be inferred from the subsequent course of Russia's history that Henry George's teachings swerved Lenin perceptibly from his chosen goals.⁴⁸

Apparently few of the delegates themselves took the signing very seriously. Some signed as it was passed from hand to hand along their pews, others later as it lay on a table near one of the doors. As the delegates signed, according to Bolshevik recollection, indignant mutterings were audible in the background, "and under their breaths they cursed the capitalist" whose name meant nothing to them and to whom no gratitude was due. Moreover, in their eyes, the document had no legal force behind it. The only value was that it contained the signatures of the delegates of a great revolutionary party which was attacking the foundations of one of the greatest European powers. In fact some delegates even considered the note with its array of signatures to be a collector's prize with a prospective value far in excess of £1700, and professed to see the profit motive uppermost even in an act of charity. Not all the delegates held such suspicions however. Yet even moderates like Abramovitch and Fanny Stepniak, as a guest, did not take seriously the stipulated obligation for the forthcoming January first. "They all apparently felt that it was ridiculous for a capitalist to expect to be repaid for a loan contracted on the honor of the party." But English observers, instilled with the rigid principles of business ethics, disagreed, demonstrating thereby that even the contracting parties to the agreement were still leagues apart.⁴⁹

At any rate, Joseph Fels had acquired a remarkable document. It was a veritable roll call of the Russian Marxist movement, and the signatures were inscribed in the manifold languages and scripts of the tsarist empire. The delegates put their names down, or as in most cases their pseudonyms, in Cyrillic, Georgian, and Latin, in Russian, Hebrew, Polish, and German, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks about evenly divided, most delegates of the Bund, the Letts almost to a man. Some even signed who were otherwise without votes, as did Litvinov and Stalin. Among the first signers, the names of Plekhanov, Tseretelli, and Abramovitch stand out, together with that of Deutsch. Elsewhere one discovers Angelica Balabanov from Leipzig, Rosa Luxemburg, and "Antimekov" (Anti-Menshevik) hiding the identity of Klementi Voroshilov. Additionally there are several fine specimens of the revolutionary proletariat such as Antratsitov, Mechanik, Kolotov (the

⁴⁸ Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, XXXIX, 30; H. N. Brailsford to Arthur P. Dudden, Apr. 12, 1953; interview with I. Tseretelli, Jan. 20, 1954.

⁴⁹ Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 204; Gandurin, *Episody podpolia*, p. 45; interview with Rafael R. Abramovitch, Jan. 20, 1954; Garnett, *The Golden Echo*, I, 118.

smasher), and Donner (thunder), all of whom in addition to Stalin (man of steel) testified eloquently to the spread of the industrial revolution and its political impact upon Russia. There was also one who signed himself "Ulysses," which was not altogether surprising among a group so far from home. But what is to be made of the delegate who signed himself "Landyshév" after the lily of the valley?

Yet even as the delegates affixed their signatures to the promissory note, it was already becoming clear that they would not abide by Fels's stipulation for immediate adjournment. Instead the Fifth Congress continued for two days more, though with its attendance considerably diminished, formally voting through its resolutions which were couched in equivocal generalities. Actually not much of importance was accomplished in the end, although many questions had been hotly disputed. "All of the attacks of the Bolsheviks were repulsed," one participant decided, "but this was all." Finally, at midnight, June 1, in a nearby attic instead of the Brotherhood Church, the seventy-five remaining delegates raised their voices in singing the "Internationale." Then the delegates were adjourned, most of them choosing to follow their comrades who were already homeward bound. And as they departed on their uncertain voyages, each carried a gold sovereign in addition to his passage home as a souvenir of the generosity of Joseph Fels.⁵⁰

All that remains is the story of the loan's repayment. Significantly enough it appears that Fels was soon regretting his impulsive generosity and pressing for repayment of his money. On September 28, 1907, for example, he wrote to Rothstein, who had engineered the transaction in the first place and was still in contact with the Russian Social Democrats: "I am in receipt of yours 27th advising that you have information from Russia that, as soon as the elections to the Duma are over, a portion at least of the money due me will be remitted. I can make the best possible use of the return of this loan, and hope the whole matter will be closed within the specified time for which it was borrowed."⁵¹ But developments inside Russia were destined to disappoint Fels's hopes. For hard upon the close of the Fifth Congress, Stolypin had charged the Social Democratic party with revolutionary conspiracy, and categorically insisted upon the suspension of practically all its representatives in the Duma. On Sunday, June 16, 1907, the tsar dissolved the Second Duma, and imposed a reactionary electoral law designed to deprive the socialists of their parliamentary sounding board. A period of bitter reaction had set in, and the party of revolution was soon being scattered to the winds. Desperately

⁵⁰ Gandurin, *Episody podpolia*, p. 46; interviews with I. Tseretelli and Rafael R. Abramovitch, Jan. 20, 1954; "D," "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907. But see Popov, *Outline History of the C.P.S.U.*, I, 206-208.

⁵¹ Joseph Fels to F. A. Rothstein, Sept. 28, 1907, in possession of Mr. Andrew Rothstein.

Stalin's men staged the famous "expropriation" or robbery of the bank at Tiflis, escaping with more than one-third million rubles. Yet even in this instance their success was short-lived, since Lenin's agents, including Litvinov, were promptly arrested in December when they attempted to convert the loot into smaller notes. Soon Lenin himself fled to Geneva from Finland to begin his second and longest exile from Russia. Ten years would elapse before the next party congress could be held. The lean years of Russian revolutionary agitation had begun.⁵²

Fels, however, continued meanwhile through Rothstein to prod the revolutionaries for his money, apparently being almost completely unconcerned over recent events in Russia. For some time Lenin ignored him. Then Lenin was told in Geneva that Fels was threatening to publicize the whole affair if his money was not forthcoming quickly. Lenin thereupon replied apologetically to Rothstein, stating that he had written repeatedly to Russia urging repayment but knew that the party simply could not raise the money under present conditions. Many comrades were already under arrest, said Lenin. Membership and financial records had been seized, printing presses confiscated, Finland rendered unsafe as a base of operations, while the bourgeois intelligentsia was quitting the party in droves. Furthermore the party's financial plight had been made even worse because two years of working openly and legally through the Duma had "spoiled" the secret mechanisms for carrying on the disciplined undercover work of conspiracy and revolution. "This should be made clear to the Englishman [Fels]," Lenin wrote to Rothstein, "and one should explain to him that the conditions of the epoch of the II Duma when the Loan was concluded were altogether different, that of course the party will pay its debt, but to demand it now is impossible, unthinkable, that would be extortion. . . . The Englishman must be made to understand. He can't get the money. And a scandal would do nobody any good." There matters rested for a time. However, in July, 1908, Lenin informed Rothstein he would refer the question to the forthcoming meeting of the party's Central Committee and emphasized how awkward it would be for him to interfere personally just when the proper authority was about to convene.⁵³ Once again it might be inferred that Lenin preferred to leave contact with the bourgeois capitalist to others.

At any event, the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic party met in plenary session in Geneva during August, and among other mat-

⁵² London *Times Weekly Edition*, June 21, 1907; Popov, *Outline History of the C.P.S.U.*, I, 208-209; Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, pp. 393-94; Lenin to F. A. Rothstein, Jan. 29, 1908, *Sochineniia* (2d ed.; Moscow, 1932), XXVIII, 514.

⁵³ Lenin to F. A. Rothstein, Jan. 29, July 8, 1908, *Sochineniia*, 2d ed., XXVIII, 514-15, 548-49.

ters appointed a subcommittee composed of one Bolshevik, one Menshevik, and one Bundist to write Joseph Fels explaining why their obligation to him could not be honored just then.⁵⁴ Their letter to Fels movingly detailed the circumstances which had almost completely exhausted the party since the London congress. Then: "Thus has a situation arisen in which we, to our profound regret, have found ourselves unable to repay promptly the debt we owe you, and are even compelled to ask you for an extension of the term for some little time longer."⁵⁵

Whatever was Fels's reaction is unknown, but apparently he was content to let the matter drop as more or less hopeless. So nothing more transpired before his death in 1914. Yet Angelica Balabanov reports in her memoirs that just two days after the October revolution in 1917 she received a letter in Stockholm "demanding full and immediate repayment of the note!"⁵⁶ Such a request, if actually made at that time, must have come at the behest of Joseph Fels's widow, Mary Fels, to whom repayment was eventually made in London in 1922 by the Russian Trade Delegation.⁵⁷ As Leon Trotsky grandiloquently proclaimed after it was all over: "Revolution carries out its obligations, although usually not without delay."⁵⁸ At any rate the books were closed at last on an episode strange equally to the worlds of capitalism and revolutionary socialism.

However Trotsky's verdict does not explain the motivation behind the repayment. It seems significant that the debt to Joseph Fels was repaid in 1922 at a time when the Soviet government was anxious to resume trade relations between Russia and Great Britain. Perhaps it may be assumed that the infant government of the revolution discharged its obligation first because the money owed Fels was regarded as a legitimate debt, unlike the claims outstanding against the government of the tsars, and second for the larger purposes of political and economic expediency. Indeed one may still wonder whether international and intercultural encounters such as that between Joseph Fels and the RSDLP have actually fostered respect, tolerance, and good will among the peoples of the earth.

Bryn Mawr College
University of California, Riverside

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 549, n. 2.

⁵⁵ Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Russia to Joseph Fels, Aug. 18, 1908, Joseph Fels Papers.

⁵⁶ Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, p. 75.

⁵⁷ Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 4th ed., XXXIV, 415, n. 262; Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, June 29, 1954. But see Marcus, who states that 1919 was the year of repayment, which is most unlikely because of British troops being then in Russia. "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, LXXVIII, 69.

⁵⁸ Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 202.

Great Britain and the Isthmian Canal, 1898-1901

J. A. S. GRENVILLE

ALTHOUGH the literature on the isthmian canal diplomacy is extensive,¹ another addition to the numerous articles and books already written on the subject may be useful for the following reasons: While much attention has rightly been paid to the part played by this phase of United States diplomacy on the emergence of the United States as a world power, far less study has been devoted to the changing course of British policy. It is not always sufficiently recognized that vital British interests were also involved in the solution of the canal question and that the role of giving up rights hitherto enjoyed is at least as difficult as the assumption of fresh responsibilities. Moreover, today, of less importance appear purely national gains and of far more significance the development of good Anglo-American relations, for the Anglo-American alliance forms the very cornerstone of the defense of the free world. The signature of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in 1901 marked—and the British cabinet was in no doubt about this—the conscious British recognition of the eventual United States supremacy in the Western Hemisphere and thus entailed a fundamental change in the relations of the two countries. The danger of an Anglo-American collision over a struggle for predominance in Central America and in the Caribbean was removed and the basis of the later alliance was laid in these years. There are few more decisive events in the history of international relations in the twentieth century. Yet the American side of the story is much better known than the British. The State Department records and the private papers of the principal American negotiators—Hay, Choate, and Henry White—have been available for some time, but the British Foreign Office archives for this period have

¹ The valuable work on the subject by the following historians is well known: Samuel F. Bemis, Alfred L. P. Dennis, Tyler Dennett, William R. Thayer, Mary W. Williams, Lionel M. Gelber, W. Stull Holt, and Dwight C. Miner. More attention to the British attitude, and especially to that of the Dominion government has been paid by Charles C. Tansill in his excellent study, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911* (New Haven, 1943), which adds much new material of importance to the subject. Robert B. Mowat's *The Life of Lord Pauncefote* (London, 1929) still is an invaluable though rather a sketchy source for British policy. Mr. R. G. Neale's stimulating paper, "British-American Relations during the Spanish-American War: Some Problems," *University of Melbourne Historical Studies*, November, 1953, has underlined the need for a reinterpretation of British policy on the basis of the British Foreign Office correspondence at the Public Record Office, London. The most recent contribution to the subject is in H. C. Allen's *Great Britain and the United States* (London, 1955).

only recently been opened to the historian. This new British material not only makes it possible to follow much more precisely the course of British policy but also throws fresh light on American diplomacy.

It is worth while, at the outset, to examine a number of general views about British policy and about the development of Anglo-American relations, some of which have been widely accepted. Our judgment of the history of Anglo-American relations is largely influenced by our acceptance or rejection of the proposition that the development of the Anglo-American alliance in the twentieth century was inevitable. If diplomatic relations were fundamentally based on similarities of ideological outlook, then it would appear natural that Britain and the United States should be drawn together more closely. And judging from the public pronouncements of men like Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, this was already apparently recognized in the 1890's. True, Chamberlain laid stress on the supposed racial identity of the Anglo-Saxon peoples on both sides of the Atlantic; racial ideas were much in vogue then and were yet to be developed into a pseudo-Nazi science; but, though the myth of such crude racial theories has since been exposed, was there not an underlying truth in what Chamberlain tried to express? A common cultural tradition and similar democratic institutions of government are powerful bonds in the relations of nations. Yet in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, important as this factor was in the alignment of the powers, it was not decisive. A great injustice would be done to the architects of the Anglo-American alliance if the fruit of their labors were regarded otherwise than as the outcome of wise statesmanship.

During the Boer War, Secretary of State Hay was charged with conducting a policy too friendly to Britain and even accused of concluding a secret treaty with her. His denial of such a treaty, and of any desire to depart from the policy of nonentanglement in the rivalries of the European powers, was emphatic. But what were the motives of British policy at the time? A distinguished American historian has given as his opinion that Britain would have liked to secure the alliance of the United States in preference to some other.² Much evidence has come to light to support this contention, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that further evidence of British efforts to secure American co-operation would be found when the British Foreign Office archives came to be examined. But this has not been the case. The dearth of material in the official correspondence which would have pointed to a British policy of closer alignment with the United States in the Far East, for example, an area where it was suspected that Britain most desired American co-opera-

² Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1936), p. 509.

tion during the years from 1899 to 1902, necessitates a major reinterpretation of British policy. Balfour's well-known approach to the United States in March, 1898, for co-operation in China³ stands in importance on its own. Its significance as an indication of the objectives of British foreign policy after that date should therefore not be exaggerated. It should also be remembered that Balfour took this step when temporarily in charge of the Foreign Office during the illness of the Prime Minister.

At least there need be no doubt about Chamberlain's genuine desire for the friendship of the United States. But he talked in his speeches of "alliance" and not merely of friendship. Even so it would be dangerous to interpret his repeated pleas for an "alliance" too literally, if only because he did not attach any precise meaning to the term. Nor did he alone formulate British foreign policy, powerful though his influence was. The majority of the cabinet realized that an alliance with the United States lay outside the sphere of practical policies; an alliance treaty had no chance of securing the necessary approval of the Senate, and this became even more obvious when, after the outbreak of the Boer War, the bitter animosity toward Britain of some sections of the American people had increased. Chamberlain's "open diplomacy" was not always very wise and his speechifying tended, to his constant surprise, to produce an effect just opposite to the one he intended.⁴ Salisbury did not approve the force of Chamberlain's language but felt obliged to allow a good deal of freedom to his Unionist colleagues. While doing little to curb Chamberlain's incursions into the field of foreign affairs, he did try to repair the damage in private conversations with foreign ambassadors. This is strikingly illustrated by his comments on Chamberlain's celebrated Birmingham speech of May 13, 1898, during the course of which the Colonial Secretary had pleaded for an "Anglo-Saxon alliance." Salisbury assured the rather astonished Austrian ambassador, Count Deym, that he had neither known the contents of Chamberlain's speech beforehand nor even that the Colonial Secretary had intended to make a speech. The Prime Minister then added, so Deym reports, "that there could be no question of an alliance with the United States and that such an alliance would be of no use to England in case of an attack from the con-

³ Alfred L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906* (New York, 1928), pp. 170-71. Neale, p. 14.

⁴ For example, the *Times* correspondent described reactions in the United States to Chamberlain's Leicester speech of November 30, 1899, in these words: "Seldom has any speech by any English Minister friendly to America provoked such a storm of dissent in America as Chamberlain's at Leicester. Dissent is expressed in all tones, some of them hostile to Mr. Chamberlain personally, all of them hostile to his proposal of an alliance. He has given the enemies of his country, the Irish Americans especially, a long coveted opportunity of renewing the outcry against England, so long silenced by the force of American goodwill. Nobody accepts his alliance, nobody defends his indiscretion in offering it. Nobody regards an alliance as within the possibilities of American policy." *Times*, Dec. 4, 1899, p. 5.

tinental powers.”⁵ Even more remarkable is a passage from a private letter Salisbury had sent in January, 1896, to Hicks Beach under the shadow of President Cleveland’s message to Congress on the Venezuelan crisis:

recent events have introduced a new element into the calculation. A war with America—not this year but in the not distant future—has become something more than a possibility: and by the light of it we must examine the estimates of the Admiralty. It is much more of a reality than the future Russo-French coalition.⁶

Not that the Prime Minister desired war: on the contrary he hoped to settle all disputes; nor should this passage be taken too literally, for Salisbury was anxious to secure the assent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to an increase of defense expenditure; but nevertheless, even when all the circumstances surrounding the letter are taken into account, the passage does show that in the late 1890’s the idea of a war with the United States did not appear to be so fantastic as it was to become ten years later.

Finally, an examination of the British discussions on the problem of whether to allow United States control of an isthmian canal disposes of the idea of a diplomatic bargain whereby Britain is supposed to have agreed to American predominance in Central America in return for American support of British policy in the Far East. There is not even any evidence that British statesmen, or military chiefs, welcomed the construction of the canal on the grounds that it would facilitate the growth of American power in the Far East and so provide a counterweight to Russian pressure.⁷ On the contrary the military opinion consulted was unanimously opposed to the construction of such a canal. Where then are we to find the motives that induced the cabinet to make such a large concession to the United States? There was a mixture of necessity and free choice about them. In the first place Britain was forced to meet a great challenge to her world position during the last years of the Salisbury administration. She was faced at once with a struggle for supremacy in South Africa and the pressure of the Dual Alliance powers along a line of several thousand miles from the Turkish Straits to the Pacific

⁵ No. 23 A-D, confidential, Deym to Goluchowski, May 18, 1898, *Berichte England, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv*, Vienna. The German text of the relevant portion of the dispatch reads: “Auch mir wiederholte Lord Salisbury, dass von einem Bündniss mit den Vereinigten Staaten nicht die Rede sei, und dass ein solches für England gegenüber einem Angriffe seitens Continentaler Mächte von gar keinem Nutzen wäre.” A grant from the Central Research Fund of London University enabled me to examine the Austrian Archives.

⁶ Salisbury to Hicks Beach, Jan. 2, 1896, Hicks Beach Papers. I was permitted to see these papers by the courtesy of the present Earl St. Aldwyn.

⁷ In the second part of his article, cited above, Neale examines in some detail British policy toward the United States with special regard to the Far East and reaches the following conclusion: “There is no direct evidence that during the Spanish-American War the Foreign Office took any positive and official action after March 1898 to entice the United States into international rivalry in Asia or to influence the United States policy towards the ‘open door’ policy and the acquisition of the Philippines.” I find myself in agreement with this view and would indeed extend the conclusion to the whole period under discussion in this article.

Ocean, pressure which threatened her most vital interests. At the same time her resources no longer sufficed to maintain her opposition to the expansion of all the great powers. British statesmen therefore had decided by 1901 to meet this challenge by crushing the Boers, by strengthening imperial ties, by seeking the military co-operation of a great power, preferably Germany, and by abandoning the supremacy of Central America and the Caribbean to the United States. But this decision was reached only by gradual stages. To begin with, during the winter of 1898-1899 the cabinet was prepared to accept a settlement of differences with the United States only on the basis of a fair compromise, and the question of Alaska was therefore linked with that of the isthmian canal. A year later, Britain, now engaged in war with the Boers, was ready to make major concessions to the United States and to treat the isthmian canal question separately. But these concessions were not sufficient to satisfy the United States Senate. Another year elapsed before the British cabinet, guided by Lansdowne, finally decided to go nearly the whole way to meet United States wishes.

During the winter of 1898-1899 three main lines of reasoning can be distinguished in the British ministerial discussions on the canal problem. There was, first of all, the opinion of the "professionals," the army and navy chiefs, that the construction of the canal was opposed to British strategic interests. Then the Canadian ministers—and their opinion found much support in London—argued that concessions in Central America should be made dependent on American concessions, especially in the Alaskan boundary dispute between Canada and the United States. Most weight was probably attached to the point of view shared by several members of the British cabinet that, since the construction and control of the canal by the United States would place Britain at a great disadvantage in case of conflict with her, all disputes which might give rise to such a conflict should first be removed. On economic grounds the Board of Trade saw no objections and alone was entirely favorable to the project. That the canal would most of all benefit British trade⁸ was an obvious fact Americans were never tired of pointing out; yet few clearer instances than British policy on the canal problem can be found to show that economic motives did not play a predominant part in the formulation of British foreign policy. The British ministers employed one or other of these arguments to support their views; neither their policies nor the reasons for their adoption were identical. Three ministers played a predominant part in

⁸ The Board of Trade memorandum sent to the Foreign Office on February 2, 1899, estimated that 60 per cent of the shipping passing through the canal would fly the British flag while the trading interest of the British Empire would be 47 per cent as compared with the United States interest of 46 per cent. F.O. 55/392.

the shaping of British foreign policy during the period from 1898 to 1901—Salisbury, Chamberlain, and Lansdowne.

It was a prime principle of Salisbury's diplomacy that Britain should not negotiate from a position of weakness. On this score alone the Prime Minister opposed one-sided concessions. He undoubtedly desired the friendship of the United States but he refused to be pushed at any but his own pace in negotiations. When the occasion warranted he could be maddeningly slow, and even his colleagues sometimes despaired of avoiding the irritation thus produced. Fundamentally Salisbury's grasp of the general situation even in advancing age remained masterly, but during the last three years of his administration the Prime Minister found difficulty in adapting himself to Britain's rapidly changing position in the world. Having put his own view forward with remarkable lucidity, he was content to agree to a course of policy different to it, providing the majority of the cabinet desired it. Thus though he often used arguments in this period which led the cabinet to the conclusion that he was opposed to concession, in the last resort he did not veto the decisions of his colleagues. It was in the cabinet, where a common policy had to be thrashed out by the British method of informal discussion, that Salisbury's great gifts and personality showed themselves at their best. Unfortunately it is not possible to follow these discussions as no minutes were allowed to be made. Cabinet memorandums, that is, memorandums drawn up by some individual ministers before a cabinet met, are therefore a vital clue and often the only evidence of individual views. On Anglo-American relations happily some important cabinet memorandums have come to light in the Foreign Office correspondence.

Chamberlain's personality differed greatly from Salisbury's. Tremendously energetic, quick to translate thought into action, he pushed his policy by all means at hand and often by enlisting public support for it before obtaining the support of his colleagues. That he was not acting with perfect loyalty to his chief does not seem to have seriously crossed his mind. In continuing to follow independent lines he even seems to have been justified to some extent. He rarely made attempts secretly and informed the Prime Minister of nearly all that happened; he does not seem to have been rebuked; certainly he was never openly disavowed. The greatest protagonist of the "Anglo-Saxon" alliance—an alliance he had already cemented on a personal level by his marriage to a beautiful American lady, Mary C. Endicott—he championed at the same time the development of the imperial connection. On the question of the isthmian canal his two ideals came into conflict with each other. Without hesitation he supported the Canadians, though he probably cared little for

the rights and wrongs of the Alaskan boundary dispute. Until 1900, when the Colonial Secretary was obsessed by the dangers of a coalition against England, he held fast to this course. But once convinced that American friendship was vital in the difficult position in which Britain found herself during the first winter of the Boer War, he veered around suddenly and supported a policy of concession.

With Lansdowne's advent to the Foreign Office in the autumn of 1900, British foreign policy changed its direction. Agreement with all the great powers was the laudable policy the new Foreign Secretary attempted to follow, and his greatest success was the removal of a serious obstacle to good Anglo-American relations by the signature of the canal treaty with the United States. Lansdowne, unlike Chamberlain, rarely acted solely on his own responsibility. The frequency with which both Salisbury and, even more so, Lansdowne consulted the cabinet is one of the distinguishing features of the Anglo-American negotiations in this period. From the moment Lansdowne took office he followed a line of policy perceptibly different from Salisbury's, and he generally carried the cabinet with him.

The absence of acrimonious dispute is perhaps not the least striking feature of the negotiations. Plenty of inflammable material was at hand, especially when pro-Boer sympathy swept many groups of the population in the United States. But despite the abuse heaped on the British government by some sections of the American press, the cabinet showed wise restraint. The *Times*, so sensitive to German criticism, remained friendly in tone, and a "press war" never got underway to poison mutual relations. Harmony prevailed between leading ministers on both sides of the Atlantic despite difficult circumstances. If it takes two sides to make a quarrel, assuredly also two sides are necessary to create trust and good will. The psychological diplomatic climate, though one of the most intangible elements in international relations, is also one of the most important, and the contrast between the success and the failure of the contemporaneous Anglo-American and Anglo-German negotiations was certainly in part due to the absence of poisonous suspicions in the relations of the former and their conspicuous presence in the relations of the latter.

On the "other side" Hay, the Secretary of State, worked tirelessly, and he has perhaps received less justice than is his due. President McKinley at the crucial moment loyally backed Hay, and, though he did not live to see the signature of the canal treaty, its success was virtually assured before his tragic assassination. By refusing to accept Hay's resignation at the one moment when Hay had despaired of securing the treaty, McKinley made an important contribution to the development of good Anglo-American relations.

Washington rather than London was the center of the negotiations. There, the veteran British diplomat Lord Pauncefote, already seventy years old when the negotiations recommenced in 1898, handled the problems with outstanding skill. Among the foremost international lawyers of his time, his knowledge of the usage regarding maritime canals, already put to the test when he served as a British delegate to the international Suez Canal commission in 1885, was of inestimable value once more. Not only the British cabinet but also Hay trusted him entirely; the confidence which he inspired was a just reflection of his ability and character. Regarded by Salisbury as virtually irreplaceable in Washington, Pauncefote was to die "in harness." Choate, the American ambassador in London, like Pauncefote, was a barrister by training, a fact which undoubtedly helped to smooth the path of the intricate negotiations. Both countries owe a great debt to these two remarkable ambassadors.

The canal negotiations fall into three major divisions. The first phase commences with President McKinley's message to Congress of December 5, 1898, and ends with the British refusal in February, 1899, to agree to any modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty without a settlement of pending disputes. The second opens with Hay's revival of the negotiations in January, 1900, and closes with the signature of the draft convention in February, 1900. The final phase of the negotiations begins in December of 1900 with Hay's resubmission of the convention as amended by the Senate and does not end until the Senate's approval in December, 1901, of a third version of the canal treaty negotiated between the two governments. From the British point of view, the rejection of the amended convention in March, 1901, was little more than a diplomatic maneuver to secure better terms and thus does not mark as decisive a breach as has hitherto generally been supposed.

II

The negotiations for a revision of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty began in 1898 in the glare of publicity and ended in such secrecy that the American proposals in 1901 were contained in private letters to the British ambassador, Lord Pauncefote. President McKinley's message to Congress on December 5, 1898,⁹ proved the starting point for the renewal of the negotiations. The passage dealing with the isthmian canal has often been quoted. The President urged on Congress the necessity of action and argued that the construction of a canal was demanded by the prospective expansion of American influence in the Pacific; but the real challenge lay in his choice of words

⁹ *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898* (Washington, 1901), lxxi-ii.

which in the following passage appeared to imply that Congress should take matters into its own hands: "that our national policy now more imperatively than ever calls for its control by this Government," McKinley had declared, "are propositions which I doubt not the Congress will duly appreciate and wisely act upon." Pauncefote called on the Secretary of State for an explanation of the President's statement. Did the President intend to encourage Congress to set aside the provision of joint control laid down by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty? Hay at once hastened to dispel any possible British misconception. He assured Pauncefote that the President's language on this point was no more than an expression of hope to obtain by negotiation such modification of the treaty as would permit the construction of the canal under conditions of control satisfactory to both nations. Hay now proposed that Pauncefote should obtain powers to enter upon informal *pourparlers* to consider a scheme to modify the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty without affecting the "general principle" declared in it.¹⁰ Hay at the same time sent instructions to the United States chargé d'affaires in London to approach Salisbury with a similar proposal.¹¹ Henry White entered upon the task with gusto. Here was a chance to play a great role in diplomacy. He stayed with Salisbury for a weekend at Hatfield. The Prime Minister appeared cordial, and in personal relations could indeed exert a peculiar charm when he wished; but Henry White was over sanguine when he triumphantly reported home that the Prime Minister was prepared to give way on all the principal points and attached little importance to the canal. To make quite sure, White had also proceeded to lobby the duke of Devonshire and Arthur Balfour.¹² Now as a matter of fact the cabinet had decided to accept Hay's invitation, but the points on which concessions could be made had not been decided upon. The instructions sent to Pauncefote on December 21, 1898, left to the ambassador the widest discretion, and Pauncefote was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered.¹³

The part played by the British ambassador in the formulation of Hay's first draft convention was much greater than has been supposed or was even fully realized at the time by the Foreign Office. When sending home Hay's

¹⁰ Telegram No. 126, and Despatch No. 319, from Pauncefote, Dec. 8, 1898, F.O. 55/386; the date of cabinet circulation is marked on the dispatch. Hay also reassured the journalist Money Penny. Tyler Dennett, *John Hay* (New York, 1933), p. 249.

¹¹ Hay to White, Dec. 7, 1898, Allan Nevins, *Henry White*, (New York, 1930), p. 144.

¹² White to Hay, Dec. 23, 1898, *ibid.*, p. 145.

¹³ Telegram No. 176, Salisbury to Pauncefote, Dec. 21, 1898, F.O. 55/386. The instructions read: "I have seen Mr. White and discussed the matter with him—We thought the negotiations had better take place at Washington not here—I agreed to instruct you to discuss any questions connected with the Canal if Mr. Hay wishes to do so. You should in the first place ascertain what modification in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty the U. S. Govt. desire to obtain."

proposals on January 12, 1899. Pauncefote explained that some of the main features of the draft had been suggested by him to Hay in the course of conversations with the American Secretary of State.¹⁴ Later he advised Lansdowne to allow the erroneous impression to remain that Hay alone had framed the draft convention in order to prevent further attacks on him, as he was already under fire for his alleged Anglophile policy. Not until April 11, 1901, did Pauncefote reveal the details of his negotiations with Hay during December, 1899. He then sent to the Foreign Office the text of a canal convention he had given to Hay and pointed out that "the Treaty was prepared by Mr. Hay, but on the model of a Draft supplied to him by me at his request."¹⁵ Pauncefote regarded Hay's draft as in "substance identical" with his own, and a comparison of the two drafts shows only two appreciable differences: Pauncefote had suggested a commission for the control of the canal on which Britain was to be represented (Article II) while in Hay's draft no provision was made for such a commission; also Hay had reserved to the United States the right to police the canal.¹⁶

The terms of Hay's proposals are well known.¹⁷ The preamble laid down as the purpose of the convention the removal of any objections to the construction of the canal arising from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was to be amended not superseded by the convention and the general principle of neutralization was reaffirmed. The first article contained the principal amendment, for by it the construction of the canal directly or indirectly was conceded to the United States with the exclusive right to provide for its regulation and management. Article II laid down rules for the maintenance of the general principles of neutralization. These stipulated that the canal was to remain free and open to all merchant vessels and warships on equal terms "in time of war as in time of peace," that the canal could not be blockaded nor that any right of war could be exercised in it, and that no fortifications could be erected for its defense though the

¹⁴ Despatch No. 18, from Pauncefote, Jan. 12, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

¹⁵ Despatch No. 121, from Pauncefote, Apr. 11, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

¹⁶ Pauncefote's draft was headed: "Lord Pauncefote's Original Draft of a Convention to Modify the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Reference to the Construction of the Nicaragua Canal, Communicated to Mr. Hay privately and unofficially January 5, 1899." Article II of Pauncefote's draft ran as follows: "Notwithstanding, any Provision of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to the contrary, the United States of America shall be at liberty to construct the said Nicaragua Canal either directly at their own cost, or by gift, or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscription to or purchase of the stock of any corporation, and subject to the Provisions of the present Treaty they shall possess and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction or to aiding in such construction by any of the methods above described, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the management and regulation of the said Canal, by means of a Commission on which Great Britain shall be represented by not less than two members."

¹⁷ The text of the convention eventually signed on February 5, 1900, was published in the British Blue Book, *United States No. 1 (1900)*, Cd. 30.

right to police it was reserved to the United States. Other powers were to be invited to join the convention under Article III, and finally Article IV stipulated that ratification should be exchanged six months after the signature of the convention.

In London, before the receipt of Hay's proposals, the "professionals" had been requested by the Prime Minister to give their opinion on the effects of the construction of an isthmian canal. Sir John Ardagh, director of military intelligence, responded with a long memorandum on the strategic aspects of the problem. The burden of his arguments was that the construction of the canal would impair British naval supremacy, increase her naval responsibilities, and add to trade rivalry in shipping. He then proceeded to pose the question whether Britain, in return for the concession of allowing the United States control of the canal, should not insist on compensations in the shape of a sound arbitration treaty, special consideration for the West Indies, and facilities on the Alaskan coast. The framing of the question suggested Ardagh's answer sufficiently clearly.¹⁸ The Board of Trade alone was not unfavorable and in their memorandum saw "generally speaking" no objections to Hay's draft.¹⁹

Pauncefote urged speedy acceptance of Hay's proposals. Failure to sign the convention, the ambassador warned, would lead to the passing of the bills already before Congress virtually abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.²⁰ On the discussion of Senator Morgan's Nicaragua Canal bill he reported that:

It was apparent from the tone of the debate and from the attitude of the Press, that whatever differences may exist as to the mode of proceeding and of dealing with the difficulties, financial and political, public sentiment is firmly set upon the construction of the Canal at whatever cost as a national duty.²¹

Though pressure in Congress had an important influence on the formulation of British policy, Lord Salisbury refused to negotiate "*à pas de charge*." The Prime Minister's disinclination to make one-sided concessions was reinforced when Lord Herschell's telegrams arrived warning that the Joint High Commission would probably adjourn without settling the Canadian-

¹⁸ Sir John Ardagh's memorandum respecting Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Dec. 9, 1898, sent to the Foreign Office Jan. 3, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

¹⁹ Board of Trade to Foreign Office, Feb. 2, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁰ Pauncefote sent news of the Nicaragua Canal Treaty before the Senate in Despatch No. 4, from Pauncefote, Jan. 6, 1899, also No. 18, from Pauncefote, Jan. 12, 1899, F.O. 55/392; Further report on the same subject, Telegram No. 2, from Pauncefote, Jan. 21, 1899, also Despatches No. 26, Jan. 20, and No. 33, Jan. 23, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²¹ Despatch No. 26, from Pauncefote, Jan. 20, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

American disputes.²² When White called at the Foreign Office on January 26, 1899, to urge forward the negotiations, Salisbury countered by telling him that so grave a question must be left to the decision of the cabinet, contrasted the slow progress of the Canadian-American negotiations with the speed with which the Americans desired to dispose of the isthmian canal problem, and stated that the government's parliamentary position would be seriously affected if a precipitate one-sided agreement was concluded with the United States.²³ The cabinet decision of February 1, 1899, was conveyed in an important telegram to Pauncefote on the next day. It laid down the principle that concessions to the United States could be made only if the United States made concessions in other disputes:

The Cabinet to whom I submitted question of Clayton Bulwer Treaty, felt that the force of the U. S. navy would in war be doubled by the project. They are adverse to obstructing what may be of value to commerce, but they fear that if they yield a point so entirely to the advantage of the U. S. without some diminution at least of the causes which might bring the two countries into conflict, there would be serious dissatisfaction here. Could any assurances be given as to the future navigation laws applicable to Porto Rico Cuba and the Philippines and would it be possible to have the Alaskan boundary question settled in the same treaty.²⁴

Pauncefote telegraphed in reply his conviction that the United States government would not consent to link any other question with the canal negotiations but that it was all they could do to maintain the general principle of neutralization.²⁵ On February 15 the unanimous decision of the cabinet, to whom Herschell's telegram reporting the imminent adjournment of the High Commission had been circulated, was conveyed to White. Salisbury informed him that the British government could not sign the convention "as the opinion of this country would scarcely support us in making a concession which would be wholly to the benefit of the United States at a time when they appeared to be so little inclined to come to a satisfactory settlement in regard to the Alaska frontier."²⁶ Hay's last-minute efforts to save the negotiations by putting forward proposals for arbitration of the Alaskan dispute proved unavailing.²⁷ The Canadian government was consulted only after

²² The Foreign Office volumes dealing with the Joint High Commission and the Alaskan boundary dispute in 1899 are F.O. 5/2415 and F.O. 5/2416, 2417, 2420, 2421. The commission finally adjourned on February 20, 1899. The negotiations have been very well covered by Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911*, whose research is based on material in the American and Canadian archives.

²³ Telegram No. 16, Salisbury to Pauncefote, Jan. 26, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁴ Paraphrase of Telegram No. 22, Salisbury to Pauncefote, Feb. 2, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁵ Telegram No. 11, from Pauncefote, Feb. 6, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁶ Despatch No. 37, Salisbury to Pauncefote, Feb. 15, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁷ White to Salisbury, Feb. 18, 1899, F.O. 5/2416.

the decision had already been made.²⁸ It is interesting to note that at this stage Chamberlain's advice to the Prime Minister was emphatically in favor of the Canadian point of view. In April, 1899, he wrote to Salisbury that he was "strongly of opinion" that the discussion of amending the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty should be deferred until the United States was prepared to agree to a reasonable settlement of the Alaskan dispute.²⁹

For almost the whole of the remainder of the year negotiations hung fire. Then in December, 1899, the negotiations were revived and the British government signed the convention in February, 1900, without first arriving at a permanent settlement of the Canadian disputes. This marks the first alteration in the course of British policy. Salisbury's aim to secure a settlement based on a fair compromise was modified in favor of the United States. What were the circumstances that led to this change of British policy?

III

Certainly Hay's efforts to secure at least a temporary settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute smoothed the path of the isthmian canal negotiations.³⁰ Nor could the unmistakable trend of American public opinion have failed to make some impression in London. But these two considerations did not play a decisive part in the change of British policy. The reason for it is to be found principally in the effects of the great imperial struggle, the Boer War, in which Britain had been engaged since October, 1899. The war stretched British resources to their limit at a time when public feeling on the Continent was pressing the great powers to intervene in the struggle to save the Boers. The winter brought severe reverses to the British army in South Africa. No one doubted that great efforts would be necessary to master the challenge in South Africa, yet Britain was already being hard pressed by the Dual Alliance. The added strain of a major war exerted a decisive influence on the course of the Anglo-American negotiations. The chief fear of the cabinet in the winter of 1899-1900 the British archives now reveal to have been due to the expectation of a Russian advance in Asia at this time when Britain was elsewhere engaged. No minister was more susceptible to the threatening atmosphere than Colonial Secretary Chamberlain, and no one cooler in the crisis than the Prime Minister. The remainder of the cabinet

²⁸ Chamberlain agrees that the Canadian government ought to be consulted, Colonial Office to Foreign Office, Feb. 18, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

²⁹ The Dominion Privy Council insisted on linking the isthmian canal and Alaskan boundary negotiations, Colonial Office to Foreign Office, Apr. 17, 1899, enclosing a paraphrase of Minto's telegram to Colonial Office of Apr. 10, 1899, F.O. 55/392.

³⁰ A provisional boundary for the area around the Lynn Canal was agreed upon on October 20, 1899, F.O. 5/2417. The Alaskan negotiations are thoroughly analyzed by Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911*, pp. 190-215.

inclined in varying degree to share rather Chamberlain's apprehensions than Salisbury's *sang-froid*. It was the desire to avoid adding another possible enemy to the list that induced the cabinet to follow the path of concession and to accept Hay's convention.

Less than a fortnight elapsed between Hay's revival of negotiations and the British decision to accept the draft convention—a striking illustration of the possible speed with which the British administration could work.³¹ On January 21, 1900, Pauncefoot telegraphed to the Foreign Office Hay's fears that British failure to sign the convention might lead Congress to set aside the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.³² Five days later Larcom, of the now separate American Department of the Foreign Office, drew up a memorandum setting out the course of the negotiations.³³ This memorandum was then sent to the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office in consultation with the Foreign Office next agreed on the text of the telegram Chamberlain should send to Minto, the governor general of Canada, for submission to the Canadian ministers.³⁴ This important telegram, dispatched on January 30, 1900, endeavored to remove Canadian objections to the signature of the convention. The British cabinet did not object to the terms of the convention, Chamberlain explained in the telegram, and they were reluctant to give up pressing the Canadian point of view, especially as Canada had made so great a contribution to the war effort; but, Chamberlain argued, there was little hope of an early agreement on the Alaskan dispute; moreover, public opinion recognized the legitimacy of the United States claim for modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The telegram concluded with this powerful appeal to Canadian self-interest and patriotism:

If Her Majesty's Government further delay or refuse to proceed with Convention, such refusal would be regarded as an affront to the U. S. Government, and would tend to shake position of President whose friendly attitude is in the present condition of public affairs of great importance. I need not point out what would be the consequences of such a result to Canadian interests, and I trust that your Ministers will recognise that in the interests of the Dominion as well as in those

³¹ In this connection it should be remembered that two ministries had to co-ordinate their policy—the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office—while in addition the virtually independent government in Canada also had to arrive at a decision. Not before their consent had been received was the convention signed.

³² Telegram No. 2 Secret, from Pauncefoot, Jan. 21, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

³³ Larcom's Memorandum of Jan. 26, 1900, F.O. 55/398. Until 1900, American and Far Eastern affairs were supervised by one Foreign Office department, the "American and Asiatic." Then in 1900 the department was divided into two departments, an "American" and a "Far Eastern" department. The change is of some significance as indicating the growing importance attached by Britain to relations in this part of the world.

³⁴ Paraphrase of telegram, Chamberlain to Minto, Jan. 30, 1900, transmitted from Colonial Office to Foreign Office Jan. 31, 1900, with the comment: "copy of a telegram which has been addressed, after unofficial communication with the Foreign Office, to the Governor General of Canada on the subject," F.O. 55/398.

of the rest of the Empire it is necessary that Her Majesty's Government should agree to sign at once.

Canadian loyalty outweighed all other considerations and a prompt reply was received. The Canadian ministers, Minto telegraphed, were prepared to defer to the views of the British government.³⁵ A day later, on February 2, 1900, Pauncefote, to Hay's deep gratification, was instructed to sign the convention.³⁶

Hay hoped to obtain the approval of the convention by the Senate, but the convention failed to secure a smooth passage. The leakage to the press of its terms was a bad omen.³⁷ More serious were the three amendments insisted on by the Senate before approval. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate recommended the "Davis" amendment in its report.³⁸ This amendment undermined the general principle of neutrality of the canal, as far as it applied to the United States, by adding to paragraph five of Article II, which stipulated the rules for its maintenance, the paragraph:

It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in sections numbered one, two, three, four, and five of this Article shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order.

For one moment Hay's courage failed him.³⁹ He sent his resignation to McKinley, but the President refused to accept it. Hay made no attempt to secure the ratification of the convention with the Davis amendment during the remainder of the first session of the 56th Congress, which ended on June 7, 1900. Instead, he obtained British agreement to extend the period of ratification which expired on August 5, 1900, for a further seven months.⁴⁰

Pauncefote in the meanwhile sent home reports of the diverse press comments in the United States on the Davis amendment.⁴¹ The *New York Sun*, regarded in Britain as the organ of the Irish party, urged the Senate to ignore British claims. The *New York Times* and *New York Evening Post* on the other hand were critical. The *New York Evening Post* probably summed up

³⁵ Paraphrase copy of telegram, Minto to Chamberlain, Feb. 1, 1900, received on Feb. 1 at the Colonial Office, copy Colonial Office to Foreign Office Feb. 3, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

³⁶ Telegram No. 3, Salisbury to Pauncefote, Feb. 2, 1900, and Telegram No. 8, from Pauncefote, Feb. 3, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

³⁷ Telegram No. 11, from Pauncefote, Feb. 7, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

³⁸ Telegram No. 21, from Pauncefote, Mar. 10, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

³⁹ Hay to McKinley and McKinley to Hay, Mar. 13, 1900, in William R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay* (Boston, 1915), II, 226-28.

⁴⁰ Telegram No. 26, from Pauncefote, May 1, 1900; Telegram No. 22, Salisbury to Pauncefote, May 4, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

⁴¹ Despatch No. 79, Pauncefote to Salisbury, Mar. 15, 1900, enclosing *New York Times*, Mar. 11 and 12; Despatch No. 85, Pauncefote to Salisbury, Mar. 16, 1900, enclosing *New York Evening Post*, Mar. 12, F.O. 55/398.

the views of the moderate section of public opinion by dubbing the Senate the "funeral director of treaties." Whatever the feeling of the majority may have been in America, the cabinet would not have accepted the amended convention had it been submitted by Hay in the spring of 1900. Consideration of the convention was however delayed until December, 1900.

The second session of the 56th Congress opened on December 3, 1900. On the ninth of the same month Pauncefote telegraphed that though Hay strongly opposed the Davis amendment, President McKinley had accepted it and, he thought, would at any rate lack the courage to veto or cancel a bill passed by Congress in defiance of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty should the convention be lost. Pauncefote urged that the treaty, even in its amended form, should be accepted: "It would be wiser to secure the Treaty with amendment, objectionable as it is in principle," he telegraphed, "than have no treaty at all."⁴² The convention was not, however, passed by the Senate on December 20, 1900, without the addition of two further important amendments in addition to the Davis amendment already recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate:⁴³ the first of these stipulated that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was to be superseded by the new convention,⁴⁴ and the second that the provision for inviting other powers to join the convention (Article III) was to be omitted. Hay sent the treaty as amended by the Senate to Pauncefote in a propitious season—Christmas. But ministerial discussions in London had already been determining British policy.

IV

Pauncefote's telegram of December 9, 1900, urging the cabinet to accept the treaty even in amended form provided the initial impetus that revived discussions in London. The convention was likely to be passed with the Davis amendment, so much was clear, but whether Britain should accept the amended convention was in December, 1900, far from a cut-and-dried decision. The cabinet in the spring of the same year would have rejected it, but a change in the situation since then had occurred—Lansdowne had replaced Salisbury at the Foreign Office. Salisbury as Prime Minister retained a special duty toward the conduct of foreign affairs but was not the man to impose his policy against views of the majority of the cabinet. The role of Lansdowne

⁴² Telegram No. 63, from Pauncefote, Dec. 9, 1900, F.O. 55/399.

⁴³ Telegram No. 65, secret, from Pauncefote, Dec. 15, 1900; Telegram No. 68, from Pauncefote, Dec. 20, 1900, F.O. 55/399.

⁴⁴ This point was of some importance. The struggle in the United States for the route of the canal, Panama or Nicaragua, had concerned the Foreign Office little, as the old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was regarded applicable to whatever route was chosen across the isthmus. Memorandum by the legal expert of the Foreign Office, A. H. Oakes, Jan. 18, 1900, F.O. 55/398.

in the cabinet has not been sufficiently appreciated. He was more than a loyal lieutenant of the Prime Minister following the lines of policy mapped out by his chief; from the start he took an independent line and generally carried the cabinet with him.⁴⁵ This is clearly shown in the British policy on the isthmian canal problem, which now underwent a further decisive change. At first Lansdowne did not show his hand but wrote to the Prime Minister requesting his views. Salisbury replied that the decision must be left to the cabinet; Salisbury's views had not changed, however, for he added:

I confess I do not see what we shall gain by the Treaty amended by Davis. It is not supposed that we shall ever fight on the subject: but we shall have a grievance which is of some value: If we accept the Davis amendment we shall have torn our grievance up with our own hands.⁴⁶

Lansdowne, on the other hand, was prepared in the last resort to accept the Davis amendment. Placed before the cabinet that met on December 14, 1900, were Pauncefote's telegram of December 9, as well as an important memorandum written by the Foreign Secretary specially for the occasion. In this memorandum Lansdowne began to explain the policy he was successfully to follow:

I am afraid that public opinion in the United States runs so high in favour of an American canal, defended by whatever measures of precaution may seem good to the United States, that we shall be unable to stem the tide. If so, and we refuse to accept the amendment of the Convention, it seems probable that Congress will pass a Bill on the lines of the Hepburn Bill virtually abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

Lansdowne, while thus pointing out that the amended convention would in all likelihood eventually have to be accepted, added that for the present he hoped that "we shall not accept it without raising difficulties."⁴⁷ The same day Pauncefote was secretly informed of the cabinet decision to reject the treaty if it were submitted with the Davis amendment.⁴⁸ The two additional amendments made by the Senate⁴⁹ had thus not influenced the ministerial decision, though they were not without effect on the discussions that followed.

The Foreign Office archives now clear up one of the most puzzling features of the negotiations. Why was the treaty, so decisively rejected in

⁴⁵ But see my article "Lansdowne's Abortive Project of 12 March 1901 for a Secret Agreement with Germany," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, November, 1954, pp. 201-13.

⁴⁶ Lansdowne to Salisbury, Dec. 10, 1900, Salisbury to Lansdowne, Dec. 10, 1900, F.O. 55/399.

⁴⁷ Lansdowne memorandum for the cabinet, Dec. 13, 1900, F.O. 55/399.

⁴⁸ Telegram No. 227, secret, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Dec. 14, 1900, F.O. 55/399.

⁴⁹ See p. 63 above.

February, 1901, accepted in November of the same year? The difference of terms seemed scarcely to justify the British change. When did this change of policy occur? It is clear from the archives that Lansdowne's policy was far more consistent throughout this period than has hitherto appeared; Lansdowne regarded the rejection of the convention primarily as a means to secure more favorable terms, realizing that eventual British acceptance of the American point of view was in all probability inevitable. The method of negotiation adopted by Lansdowne toward the United States representatives and the arguments with which he persuaded the cabinet to follow his policy can now be reconstructed for the first time satisfactorily from the material in the Foreign Office archives; Lansdowne's preference for secrecy in negotiations revealed itself once more.⁵⁰

The decision to reject the amendments was to be kept secret until the session of Congress ended; otherwise might not Congress abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as Hay had warned?⁵¹ On February 22, 1901, the British reply was ready, but to the chagrin of Lansdowne the Senate extended its normal session from March 4 to March 9.⁵² On March 7 the decision to reject the treaty as submitted was secretly communicated to Choate and to Secretary of State Hay, who now approved the maintenance of secrecy.⁵³ Not until all danger was over did Pauncefote, on March 11, 1901, formally present the British reply to Hay.⁵⁴ In London, in the meanwhile, Lansdowne had withstood Hay's diplomatic onslaught. Since January Choate had called nearly once a week at the Foreign Office to press for an answer. Lansdowne, without giving the British reply to the proposed treaty until March 7, had not left the ambassador in doubt as to its objectionable features.⁵⁵ The phrasing of the Davis amendment was dangerously vague, Lansdowne told Choate in January, and, worse still, Britain would be placed by the treaty in a position inferior to that of the other powers. Lansdowne could not help expressing to the United States ambassador the "very great disappointment" of the government that the further changes insisted upon were "all of them to the

⁵⁰ Similar inclinations are noticeable in his Anglo-German and Anglo-Japanese negotiations during the same year.

⁵¹ Telegram No. 3, secret, from Pauncefote, Feb. 8, 1901, F.O. 55/405.

⁵² *Congressional Record*, XXXV, Part I.

⁵³ Telegram No. 10, from Pauncefote, Mar. 7, 1901, F.O. 55/405. The date of presenting the dispatch, and the need for preserving secrecy in the meanwhile, were discussed in the following telegrams: No. 16, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Feb. 19, 1901, and Nos. 4, 5, and 9, from Pauncefote, Feb. 20, 28 and Mar. 7, F.O. 55/405.

⁵⁴ Despatch No. 36, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Feb. 22, 1901; Telegram No. 12, from Pauncefote, Mar. 11, 1901, F.O. 55/405.

⁵⁵ Despatch No. 1, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Jan. 1, 1901, No. 8 Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Jan. 8, 1901, No. 18, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Jan. 14, 1901; Telegram No. 16, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Feb. 19, 1901, Telegram No. 23, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Feb. 27, 1901, F.O. 55/405.

advantage of one side.”⁵⁶ The well-known dispatch to Pauncefote of February 22, 1901, when laid before Parliament served as the government’s public vindication for the British refusal to accept the treaty as amended by the Senate in 1900:

It would follow, were His Majesty’s Government to agree to such an arrangement, [so runs the most important passage of the dispatch] that while the United States would have a Treaty right to interfere with the Canal in time of war, or apprehended war, and while other powers could with a clear conscience disregard any of the restrictions imposed by the Convention, Great Britain alone, in spite of her enormous possessions on the American Continent, in spite of the extent of her Australasian Colonies and her interests in the East, would be absolutely precluded from resorting to any such action, or from taking measures to secure her interests in and near the Canal.⁵⁷

The cabinet had no intention of closing the door to further negotiations, however, and so the dispatch was given a conciliatory ending: the British government, it concluded, “would sincerely regret a failure to come to an amicable understanding in regard to this important subject.”

Lansdowne was playing to some extent a game of bluff, and, though perhaps a dangerous device in diplomacy, in this instance it was successful. The public reasons for the rejection of the treaty were principally two: the special rights accorded to the United States by the Davis amendment whenever she saw fit to exercise them and the bilateral nature of the treaty which bound Britain to conditions other powers could legally ignore. Yet in the ministerial discussions that had preceded the decision temporarily to reject the treaty, Lansdowne had been preparing his cabinet colleagues to accept the possibility of having to concede the first of these points. Lansdowne’s special contribution to British diplomacy in 1901 was to persuade the cabinet to adopt a policy commensurate with British resources. There is thus the very closest connection between the two great decisions of 1901—the cabinet decision in November, 1901, that Britain should endeavor to secure an alliance with Japan and the decision to concede to the United States the supremacy in the Western Hemisphere. The key to an understanding of British policy lies partly in her naval position at this time. The Admiralty were invited to state their views⁵⁸ and clearly put the strategic issues before the ministers. The Admiralty memorandum of January 5, 1901, cogently argued that an isthmian canal would greatly increase United States naval strength; that control of the

⁵⁶ Despatch No. 18, Lansdowne to Pauncefote Jan. 14, 1901, circulated to the cabinet on Jan. 16, 1901, F.O. 55/405.

⁵⁷ Despatch No. 36, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Feb. 22, 1901, F.O. 55/405, published in the British Blue Book, *United States No. 1 (1901)*, Cd. 438.

⁵⁸ Admiralty memorandum sent to the Foreign Office on Jan. 5, 1901, circulated to the cabinet on January 9, F.O. 55/405.

canal would depend not only on the control over its land route but also on naval supremacy of its sea approaches; this supremacy, the Board of the Admiralty were convinced, could not be maintained in the face of United States naval construction unless Britain abandoned supremacy in home waters and other areas equally vital to British interests. The conclusion of the memorandum that the construction of an isthmian canal was not in British interests was beside the point as far as Lansdowne was concerned, for he regarded its construction virtually inevitable in any case. Lansdowne made use of these naval arguments to come to a conclusion perhaps contrary to those intended by the Lords of the Admiralty. The dispute over the Davis amendment, as far as this amendment secured the special rights of the United States alone, Lansdowne considered largely an academic one, and, in an important memorandum which he circulated to the cabinet a week later, he drew the attention of his colleagues to the crucial Admiralty admission that naval power, not treaty stipulations, was the vital factor; the omission of invitations to other powers, on the other hand, he regarded as an intolerable defect of the treaty as submitted to them. The course to adopt, he advised, was to reject the amendments of the treaty in order to obtain some improvement of terms. He believed the risk to be small, for he considered that "if Lord Pauncefote uses firm but conciliatory language in the sense which I have suggested, an alternative proposal will be made to us on the part of the United States' Government."⁵⁹ In the meanwhile a delay in the construction of the canal would not be regretted by Britain.

Lansdowne was right; he had not long to wait for an alternative proposal. Hay for his part negotiated during the last stages under the cloak of private correspondence with the British ambassador. The new draft of a treaty which he had handed to Pauncefote on April 24, 1901, was received in London on May 4.⁶⁰ The wording of the Davis amendment was now dropped; the clause forbidding the erection of fortifications in the canal was also omitted, but the right of the United States to police the canal was retained. The omission of the phrase "in time of war as in time of peace" after the provision that the canal was to remain open to all merchant vessels and warships was regarded less seriously since the United States could not be expected to allow the canal to be used against her. In British eyes, however, the draft treaty suffered still from two major defects: the new treaty was to supersede the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty without renewing the provision against the acquisition of sovereignty in Central America laid down by the 1850

⁵⁹ Lansdowne memorandum, Jan. 15, 1901, circulated to the cabinet Jan. 16, F.O. 55/405.

⁶⁰ Pauncefote to Lansdowne, private, Apr. 25, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

treaty, and worst of all no provision was made for inviting other powers to join the new treaty. Hay's proposal was circulated to the cabinet on May 10, together with a letter from Pauncefote suggesting means of remedying the defects.

Lansdowne now once more took the lead in concluding the negotiations. Villiers of the American Department of the Foreign Office drew up a factual memorandum which was circulated to the cabinet on July 8, together with a memorandum by Lansdowne.⁶¹ In it Lansdowne pointed out that the policy he had laid down in February had led to the anticipated better terms now submitted. But the government, he pointed out, however much they desired to come to an amicable settlement, could not abruptly abandon the strong position they had taken up in their dispatch of February 22, 1901, which had met with approval at home. Lansdowne suggested that the treaty fell seriously short of what was necessary chiefly on one point—the omission of an invitation to other powers to join the treaty. Otherwise he regarded the differences of no vital importance. On August 2, 1901, the cabinet, on the advice of Lansdowne, approved the “maximum” counter demands that Hay should be requested to concede.⁶² They were an additional Article IIIa stipulating that no change of sovereignty of the territory through which the canal passed should affect the provisions of the treaty, and an addition to Rule 1 of Article III that the freedom of the canal was confined to those powers “which shall agree to observe these rules” and that the conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable. On the next day Lansdowne sent this decision to Pauncefote in the hope that Hay would give credit to the friendly spirit the British government had shown and would recognize the necessity of the amendments now requested.⁶³

The divergence between the American and British point of view was no longer great, but to bridge the gap still required tact and patience on both sides. Final differences were smoothed over in personal negotiation between Pauncefote, then on leave in London, and Choate. Hay's reply was received on September 12.⁶⁴ The tragic assassination of President McKinley little affected the negotiations, now in their final phase. Hay's letter conceded the main British points, after minor amendments and final clarification of the important point that the new treaty applied to whatever route was chosen

⁶¹ Lansdowne memorandum, July 6, 1901; Villiers memorandum, June 26, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶² Lansdowne memorandum, no date, approved by the cabinet Aug. 2, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶³ Lansdowne to Pauncefote, private, Aug. 3, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶⁴ Pauncefote to Lansdowne, private, Sept. 12, 1901, enclosing Hay to Pauncefote, Sept. 2, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

for the isthmian canal.⁶⁵ The treaty was signed on November 18, 1901, in Washington.⁶⁶ Though the text was to remain secret until the Senate had considered the treaty, to the mortification of Hay the usual leakage occurred; Hearst's *New York Journal* published a substantially correct version of its terms on November 18, claiming that this text had been obtained from the British Foreign Office!⁶⁷ But nothing prevented its smooth path this time. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate reported unanimously in its favor,⁶⁸ and, by an overwhelming majority of 72 votes to 6, the Senate approved the treaty on December 16, 1901.⁶⁹

Perhaps there was a touch of complacent superiority when Lansdowne good-humoredly minuted Pauncefote's news that the treaty had leaked out into the press, with the comment, "their ways are strange."⁷⁰ In a sense this observation illustrates the spirit in which Lansdowne had tackled the constant obstacles. Hay, no less than Lansdowne, had shown high qualities of statesmanship. Never lost in the detail of negotiations, he grasped from the first the one issue at stake even more vital than the question of the control of the canal. In resisting the pressure for one-sided abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, he preserved the good name of the United States and ensured that the adhesion of the United States to an international compact was sufficient guarantee of its observance in the future by her.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty is one of the great treaties of the twentieth century, for it is a landmark in Anglo-American relations. Echoes of dispute were to ring over the Venezuelan blockade a year later, but the crucial British decision to leave to the United States the supremacy in the Western Hemisphere had already been made.

University of Nottingham

⁶⁵ No. 203a, Lansdowne to Pauncefote, Oct. 23, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶⁶ Telegram No. 33, from Pauncefote, Nov. 18, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶⁷ Pauncefote to Lansdowne, private, Nov. 18, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶⁸ Telegram No. 39, from Pauncefote, Dec. 7, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁶⁹ Telegram No. 43, from Pauncefote, Dec. 16, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

⁷⁰ Telegram No. 38, from Pauncefote, Dec. 6, 1901, F.O. 55/406.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Aftermath of the Risorgimento in Four Successive Interpretations*

H. STUART HUGHES

THE four decades of Italian history 1861-1900 offer an almost too neat example of the fashion in which historical understanding proceeds by successive approximations. Each major interpretation of the period in question has represented a corrective or answer to a previous interpretation. The general account that has become standard for most nonspecialists—Croce's *History of Italy, 1871-1915*—already represents an answer to a previously accepted view. And both the original view and the reply to it reflected the historical circumstances out of which they were formed. Once the political objective of the Risorgimento had been achieved, the attitude of most reflective Italians toward their recent past had been frankly critical. They had emphasized the weaknesses in the nation's development and more particularly the sense of disappointment and of a fall in moral level that had followed the ardors of the Risorgimento itself. As long as this view represented nothing more than a national examination of conscience and a spur to future action, it need have caused no particular misgivings. But when the Fascists began to exploit the general conviction of political degeneration and missed opportunities, in order to discredit the whole parliamentary tradition, and when in particular they denied the very real progress that had occurred after the turn of the century, it was time for a responsible historian to redress the balance.

It was at this point that Croce raised his voice. With his customary attitude of lofty serenity, the philosopher-historian searched out the positive elements in his country's parliamentary past and sought to link them together in a narrative that would be both intellectually coherent and aesthetically pleasing. In its strictly political aspects, Croce's account has undergone little subsequent correction. His reassessment of the fall of the old Right in terms of natural development rather than sudden catastrophe, his shift in emphasis from the juridical conflict between church and state to a consideration of the manner in which the *dissidio* gradually resolved itself into a prac-

* This note was originally read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1953.

tical series of working arrangements—interpretations such as these have continued to find general acceptance. When it came to economic and social questions, however, Croce's method proved less satisfactory. He viewed his subject matter from so rarefied an altitude, and with an air of such divine detachment, that what he said simply glided over the concrete data, gently enveloping them in an elegant phrase, rather than biting into them or even properly outlining their configurations. The result was to leave with his readers the impression that all was well in certain areas of the national development in which a little statistical investigation of the sort that Croce scorned would have revealed that all was definitely not well. The problem of the South, for example—despite the author's southern origin and proudly Neapolitan allegiance—figured only dimly in his historical account.

The next stage of reinterpretation, then, was quite naturally one of probing into those very economic and social problems that Croce had neglected. And the Second World War and the fall of Mussolini contributed mightily to this new assessment. For once the façade of Fascism was torn away, the bitter reality that even the anti-Fascist Croce had been unwilling to face stood revealed without protective rhetoric or palliation. In the general ruin of the years 1943 to 1946, Italians of all political faiths were obliged to recognize the unpalatable truth that neither Giolitti nor Mussolini, neither parliamentarism nor Fascism, had done very much to alter the basic character of Italian society—to close the tragic gap between North and South, rich and poor, peasant and city-dweller. It was upon such problems as these that the historical writing of the immediate post-Fascist period found its normal focus. And it was symptomatic of the time that the most inclusive reassessment of the era 1860-1900, Emilio Sereni's *Il capitalismo nelle campagne*,¹ should have been written by a Marxist historian.

This highly critical, sociologically oriented, and consciously pro-peasant-and-worker viewpoint remains the dominant historical attitude toward the decades in question. Nearly everyone who has written on internal Italian history in the past few years, myself included, has cast his work to a greater or lesser extent in this mold. We are all still fighting our private wars of liberation from the overpowering intellectual influence of Croce. But rather more important, the obsessive memory of the struggle against Fascism and the searing experience of a knowledge of Italy at first hand during the war years, have left their permanent mark. From this sort of early conditioning it seems difficult to make a satisfactory intellectual escape. It is largely a question of generation: the very young historian, whose first direct acquaintance

¹ Turin, 1947.

with things Italian dates, say, from 1948, might well find himself writing even about the period before 1900 quite differently from someone only ten years his senior.

The elements, the faint beginnings of such a third stage of reinterpretation—twice post-Crocian—are now observable. So far this effort at reassessment has been restricted to hints thrown out in the course of historical analysis of a more conventional sort. It has occurred not so much in the writings of very young historians as in those of older and more established writers, of the first or second post-Crocian generation, who have been led by recent developments—and in general against their own political and intellectual inclinations—to make minor modifications in long- and tenaciously held attitudes toward Italy's parliamentary past. Faced with the collapse and failure of militant anti-Fascism and of the hope of sweeping political and social renovation under the leadership of a united Left, with the establishment of Christian Democratic rule, and with the emergence of intellectual and social conformism as the dominating feature of contemporary Italian life, these older historians, while retaining the main outlines of their earlier thinking, have reluctantly undertaken to modify it in certain detailed but significant respects.

As examples of this post-1948 historiography, I should like to consider in particular the following four recent publications: Arturo Carlo Jemolo's great *Chiesa e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni*,² Federico Chabod's prefatory volume to his projected history of Italian foreign policy from 1870 to 1896,³ Mario delle Piane's study of Gaetano Mosca in the context of the late nineteenth-century tradition of antiparliamentary writing,⁴ and the series of articles on Italian history from 1860 to 1922 published three years ago in *Il Ponte* by the youthful-spirited and irrepressible Gaetano Salvemini under the title "Fu l'Italia prefascista una democrazia?"⁵ In this recent literature I should like to discuss in schematic outline the treatment accorded the three outstanding problems of the immediate post-Risorgimento era: the class character of the new regime; the relations between church and state; and the functioning of the parliamentary system.

In the post-1948 atmosphere of resurgent conservatism, in which the struggle against Communism has virtually superseded the previous obsession with Fascism, historians are beginning to lose their guilty conscience about

² Turin, 1949.

³ *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896*, I: *Le premesse* (Bari, 1951).

⁴ *Gaetano Mosca: Classe politica e liberalismo* (Naples, 1952).

⁵ I (January, 1952), 11-23; II (February, 1952), 166-81; III (March, 1952), 281-97.

the class character of the pre-1913 parliamentary state. The oligarchic nature of this regime—even after the extension of the suffrage in 1882—appears less troubling than it used to. Faced with a situation in which laical democracy has practically ceased to count as a force in Italian politics and in which the bulk of Italian Marxists have passed into the Communist or philo-Communist camp, historians are perhaps less inclined than they once were to describe anticlerical democracy and militant socialism as the necessarily progressive forces in the national life and invariably to take the side of the poor against the rich. They are quite willing to grant with the anti-Fascist post-Crocians that the consolidation of the new kingdom brought terrible social injustices in its wake: a crushing burden of taxation on the classes least able to pay and the nearly uniform sacrifice of southern to northern interests. In this sense the post-Crocian economic and socially conscious emphasis has proved to be a permanent historiographic acquisition. At the same time these more recent accounts suggest that a social conscience is all very well and a moral quality definitely to be cultivated, but that in certain periods in a nation's history such tender-mindedness ranks as a luxury that simply cannot be indulged. A sense of the state, of the overriding importance of ensuring law and order, must necessarily take precedence.

Is it too fanciful, then, to surmise that the living example of De Gasperi's struggle with subversion in the critical years 1946 to 1948 has had something to do with the recent tendency of historians to take a more favorable view of the government of the historic Right in the period from 1861 to 1876? In those latter years, as Chabod asserts again and again, the consideration that dominated men's minds was to prove to the outside world that the new state was viable, to ward off foreign intervention by demonstrating Italy's capacity to deal with subversion—whether Black or Red—and to put its own house in order. Writing as a diplomatic historian, Chabod has drawn attention to the obvious but too often neglected fact that in the immediate post-Risorgimento era considerations of foreign policy almost invariably took precedence over internal concerns. Everything the government did at home it did with one eye over its shoulder to catch the reactions of the great powers. Hence criticism of its policy as one dictated by class egoism may simply miss the main point. Under circumstances such as those in which Italy found itself in the 1860's and early 1870's, class interest and national interest ran parallel. High taxes, free trade, vast expenditures on public works, and the building of north-south railway lines, while they may have intensified the sufferings of the poor and widened the gap in economic level between North and South, were absolutely indispensable if the new state was to become a united nation

in anything more than name. And Quintino Sella, in arguing that a balanced budget was the "categorical imperative" of national survival, like Luigi Einaudi three quarters of a century later, was only incidentally advocating a monetary and fiscal policy that favored the rich over the poor.⁶

Even Salvemini—doughty old Jacobin that he is—in accepting a definition of the Risorgimento as "the revolution of the rich" expresses his impatience with the sentimentalism of writers who talk of the foundation of the new state as a "revolution betrayed." "What revolution was betrayed?" he queries. "The revolution of the rich? But it succeeded. The revolution of the poor? But no rich man promised it, and only a certain number of intellectuals and no [authentic] poor man demanded it."⁷ The revolution that actually took place was the only revolution that could possibly have occurred. In 1860 the rich alone were politically conscious, and the state they founded was by very necessity a class state.

On the question of church-state relations, the influence of present-day political alignments in the reorientation of historical judgments is more direct and obvious. Christian Democratic rule and the reversal of the laical tradition of the Italian parliamentary state that it implies naturally offer the dramatic change that dominates retrospective thinking in this sphere. Jemolo suggests that in the course of the century 1848–1948 Italy went full circle from clericalism to the lay state and back again, and ascribes an "anti-Risorgimento" character to the present regime.⁸ Only a minority of historians may go that far. But it is difficult to dissent from Chabod's more moderate account of the slow but cumulative restoration of papal prestige from Porta Pia to the Second World War that was to culminate in that anguished winter of 1943–1944, when, as in the time of the barbarian invasions, the inhabitants of Rome, abandoned by their royal ruler, turned to their bishop as their sole protector. And Chabod notes with ironic satisfaction the clairvoyance of those conservatives who early predicted that a change from monarchy to republic would immensely strengthen the papacy as the only remaining institution capable of stirring the popular imagination.⁹

Hence, in considering the period 1861–1900, these recent historical works have tended to devote less attention to the *dissidio* itself and to look rather at the early beginnings of church-state reconciliation in the thought and practice of far-seeing individuals. Such themes are legion and I shall simply suggest a

⁶ Chabod, pp. 497–500.

⁷ Salvemini, I, 16.

⁸ Jemolo, pp. 715–16.

⁹ Chabod, pp. 259–60, 338.

few of them: the efforts of independent-minded churchmen like Monsignor Tosti and Bishop Bonomelli to bring the papacy and the Italian government closer together in the period of Crispi's first ministry; the activities of the *Opera dei congressi* and the beginnings of co-operation between clericals and lay-minded conservatives on the local electoral level; the first signs of nationalist pride in the church as a characteristically *Italian* institution; and finally—and perhaps most important—the gradually dawning conviction that it was “high time to lay aside distrust of the clergy and the papacy and instead to seek the alliance of these solid pillars of order against the red peril.” As Chabod has suggested, “in Italy, rather more than in France, the anti-clericalism of the bourgeoisie” soon proved to be “not congenital but incidental, a question more of contingencies than of principles.”¹⁰ The eventual results of such a reorientation of sentiment are only too well known—from the Gentiloni Pact of 1913, through the Lateran accords of 1929, to the Christian Democratic electoral landslide of 1948. In judging this evolution, Chabod, far from a Marxist himself, has reached a position strikingly similar to that of a young Marxist historian, Paolo Alatri, who has argued that the loss of the pope's temporal power, coupled with the threat of socialism, was bound sooner or later to bring the church to drop its essentially feudal opposition to the liberal capitalist Italian state, and to join forces with it in a new conservative alliance.¹¹

Finally, the crystallization of the post-Fascist republican regime—democratic in theory and in much of its practice but with certain features that are still frankly oligarchic—is leading historians to take a more charitable view of the functioning of the late nineteenth-century parliamentary monarchy. If this latter state was definitely not a democracy, at least it did not claim to be one. To the great majority of Italian statesmen of the period, even those who sat on the left of the Chamber of Deputies, the idea would have seemed preposterous. And Salvemini has echoed this note of wonderment in suggesting that historians stop upbraiding the pre-1900 parliamentary regime for not being something that it never intended to be. Similarly, Delle Piane has reminded us that the antiparliamentarianism of Mosca and his fellows was the very opposite of democratic in origin: far from demanding that the institutions of the Italian monarchy should function in a more popular fashion, these critics were primarily concerned with the damage they believed that the intrusion of the democratic principle was already causing.¹²

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 408.

¹¹ Paolo Alatri, “Appunti per una storia del movimento cattolico in Italia,” *Società*, 1949, no. 2, pp. 249–50.

¹² Delle Piane, pp. 40–41.

As constitutionally minded oligarchs they were seeking at all costs to preserve the leading position of the educated strata of society. And the very device they found so reprehensible—*trasformismo*—was itself, as Chabod has so penetratingly observed, in part a reaction of conservative self-defense after the suffrage extension of 1882.¹³

All of which is only to repeat the old maxim that every country at every period of its history gets the political regime it deserves. In the last four decades of the nineteenth century Italy was obviously unready for political democracy. More than half a century later, it is still not wholly ready. A consideration of the difficulties that post-Fascist Italy has experienced in establishing political democracy as a living reality may lead us to be less doctrinaire in judging the malfunctioning of the pre-Fascist constitutional monarchy. As Salvemini has well stated, the trouble with this earlier regime was not that it was "more or less oligarchical, or more or less democratic, but that it was supported by a weak juridical and moral conscience both in the rulers and in the ruled."¹⁴ And the same is the case today. May we not conclude that a mildly corrupt parliamentary regime, in which constitutional procedures are honored nearly as often in the breach as in the observance, can be considered the norm for contemporary Italy?

Hence I suggest that historians are beginning to believe that they have been too high-minded and Mazzinian in writing about the Italian parliamentary monarchy. They have tended to think in terms of an Italy that never existed and does not yet exist—an Italy in which civic rectitude would be as widespread as it is in Britain or Scandinavia and in which economic plenty would have reduced class egoism to the vanishing point. If we begin to think more in terms of the continuing realities of Italian society and public life, we may undertake to rewrite the history of the decades 1861–1900 not as measured against some impossible ideal regime but with a proper regard for the desperately difficult problems that the country's rulers actually faced. If the solutions they devised were mostly rather mediocre, so was the physical and political material with which they had to work.

Stanford University

¹³ Chabod, pp. 385–86.

¹⁴ Salvemini, I, 23.

The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820-1822

BLANCHE D. COLL

THE extent to which a people succeeds in eradicating poverty and achieves a general prosperity is commonly counted a measure of its success. The bread and circuses of Rome are regarded with only slightly less revulsion than the reported lofty indifference of Marie Antoinette toward her hungry subjects and the widespread poverty in both societies is commonly accepted as a major cause of their downfall. Even in the face of the medieval rationale for the existence of poverty—that the poor are more precious in God's sight and that they are part of God's plan for the salvation of the rich—no medieval town ever counted its heavenly favor by the number of beggars in its streets. Healthy societies, responsible groups within such societies, have generally deplored poverty and have sought to eliminate it. The quarrel has been over causes and remedies.

In the United States the issue has been drawn between the individualists who have argued that poverty, being the sum of persons making up the poor, will decrease as individuals raise themselves out of that class, and the environmentalists who have considered poverty to be the sum of economic and social conditions over which the poor as individuals have no control. The battle between the individualists and the environmentalists has received scholarly treatment in a number of American histories; yet no one of them contains more than a superficial discussion of charitable institutions or of those who ministered to the poor through such institutions. Nearly all social histories and many general histories contain a few words about Jane Addams and the settlement-house movement. Mary Richmond, a contemporary of Jane Addams and the founder of the profession of social work, has been overlooked. Students of social reform are scarcely more familiar with the aims and methods of the charity organization movement—the “scientific charity” of the late nineteenth century—much less with the forerunners of that movement, the associations for the improvement of the condition of the poor and the societies for the prevention of pauperism.¹ Yet the care of the poor has been one of the more important reforms in our history, often interlocked in

¹ Lack of general histories and monographs on American charities is undoubtedly the reason for neglect of the subject. The older comprehensive histories that include some material on

ideas and leadership with other reform movements. Moreover social casework is a significant factor in American life today.² The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism is but a small part of a very large whole. I hope that the following account of its history will suggest the fruitfulness of investigating more fully the subject of charitable institutions and their sponsors.

The Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the City of Baltimore was organized on March 6, 1820.³ At that time Baltimore, with a population of 63,000, was the third largest city in the United States.⁴ Like its rivals to the north, its lifeblood was its commerce, a commerce that had flourished during the Napoleonic wars but which had suffered a decline with the coming of peace. Nevertheless it was only during the winter months that demands for charity reached significant proportions. When winter came, many unskilled laborers joined the ranks of the aged, the handicapped, the widows and orphans who were dependent the year round upon the benevolence of the well-to-do.⁵

charities are James B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York, 1883-1913) and Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-25). The volumes in Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox, eds., *A History of American Life* (New York, 1927-48) which stress social and economic conditions and reform movements include but brief references to charitable institutions. Such special studies of social thought and reform as Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York, 1952), and Alice F. Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (Minneapolis, 1944) similarly give the subject of charitable institutions but passing attention. What little history of American charities there is has been written by persons active in charitable movements. Frank D. Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (New York, 1922) includes a brief survey of foreign and domestic antecedents of the charity organization societies, the origin, growth, and interpretation of which are the main focus of the book. Stuart A. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History* (Philadelphia, 1922), Amos G. Warner, Stuart A. Queen, and Ernest B. Harper, *American Charities and Social Work* (New York, 1935), and Helen Witmer, *Social Work* (New York, 1942) also contain historical background. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration in the United States* (Chicago, 1927) is a collection of documents with interpretive essays. Special studies that include valuable data are Lilian Brandt, *Growth and Development of AICP and COS* (reproduced from typescript, 1942), Robert W. Kelso, *The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920* (Boston, 1922), David M. Schneider, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1609-1866* (Chicago, 1938), and David M. Schneider and Albert Deutsch, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1867-1940* (Chicago, 1941). For the contribution of Mary Richmond, see Philip Klein, "Mary Ellen Richmond," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1934), XIII, 382, which includes a bibliography.

² Alan Keith-Lucas, in an article entitled "The Political Theory Implicit in Social Casework Theory" (*American Political Science Review*, XLVII [December, 1953], 1076-91) estimates that approximately five per cent of the population is receiving either monetary assistance or services currently. Since the individuals making up this percentage are frequently changing, the numbers coming into contact with social agencies in the course of a generation would be considerably larger. Mr. Lucas' main concern here is with modern casework theory, which he places in historical perspective in a brief but penetrating analysis of earlier theories.

³ Communication, [Baltimore] *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* (hereafter cited as *American*), Mar. 9, 1820.

⁴ *Census for 1820* (Washington, 1821).

⁵ *American*, Feb. 15, 1817; letters to editor, *ibid.*, Feb. 24, 26, Oct. 29, 1817; editorials, *Morning Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser* (hereafter cited as *Morning Chronicle*), Dec. 5, 1820, Nov. 5, 1821; notice from mayor's office, [Baltimore] *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1821.

Such benevolence took a number of forms, perhaps the most conspicuous of which was the almshouse supported by city and county taxes. The Baltimore almshouse was not the refuge of the aged and infirm only but was also the primary resource of the acutely ill who were unable to pay for medical care. Children were born and foundlings sheltered there. The Trustees of the Poor complained of repeaters—drunkards and prostitutes who entered the almshouse ill and ragged, emerged cured and outfitted, to turn up soon after, ill and ragged as before. Taxes for the relief of the poor could be drastically reduced, declared the trustees in 1823, if it were not for this unregenerate group.⁶ During 1819 and 1820 the monthly occupancy of the almshouse averaged about 300 persons.⁷

Private charity took up what slack remained. The Dorcas Society collected almost \$1,900 in 1817 which, added to wood and clothing, relieved 549 adults and 294 children.⁸ The Baltimore Humane Society and the Aimwell Charitable Society were similarly active in the relief of the distressed.⁹ Germans, Irish, and Scots had organized separate associations to assist emigrants from their respective homelands.¹⁰ It was usual also for the city government to sponsor a collection or to appropriate money for the poor during the winter months.¹¹ Added to this were individual contributions given to persons who either begged or whose need became known through other sources.¹²

The idea that charity was an unadulterated virtue had come in for some question before 1820. Baltimoreans had read of the increase in numbers of dependents in England and of the criticisms of the Poor Law there.¹³ Nowhere in the United States was there any system of poor relief comparable to the English Poor Law which, by providing a dole to supplement wages, encouraged employers to exploit their workers in the assurance that general taxes would fill the gap between earnings and subsistence.¹⁴ The Baltimore newspapers did not remind the public of this distinction.

⁶ Anon., "History of the Baltimore City and County Almshouse," MS, n.d. (ca. 1819), in Maryland Historical Society; communication, *American*, Jan. 17, 1823.

⁷ According to figures supplied by the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, which no doubt had access to records which no longer exist. *American*, Jan. 12, 1822. In addition about 100 persons were relieved in their homes with public funds each year. *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1818.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1817; *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 30, 1820.

¹⁰ "German Society of Maryland," *American*, Jan. 16, 1819; "To Irishmen . . .," *ibid.*, Mar. 12, 1819; St. Andrew's Society, *Constitution and By-Laws*.

¹¹ *American*, Jan. 20, Feb. 15, 1817; Baltimore City Council, Resolution, Jan. 18, 1820, in Archives, Baltimore City; notice from mayor's office, *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1821.

¹² The literature is full of references to beggars. See for example, communication, *American*, Feb. 17, 1817; letter to editor, *ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1817; communication, *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1820.

¹³ *American*, Aug. 13, 14, 1816; letter to editor, *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1818.

¹⁴ For a description of the British experience, see Karl de Schweinitz, *England's Road to Social Security* (Philadelphia, 1943), especially pp. 69-78.

Publicity had also been given to the activities of Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, an American who, with the support of the civil authorities, had reorganized the charities of Munich. Count Rumford had established a House of Industry in that city where all able-bodied dependents were put to work.¹⁵ In Baltimore enthusiasm for the "Munich Plan" had culminated in a lottery to raise money for a House of Industry, but although this idea was still in the public notice in 1820, little headway had been made on the project.¹⁶ Two other methods of caring for the poor that had been tried out abroad were famous. In Hamburg an executive committee supervised the investigations of district visitors who strove to prevent indiscriminate almsgiving, to compel the able-bodied to work by providing jobs for them if necessary, to improve housing, and to sponsor vocational training. Much influenced by the Hamburg system was Thomas Chalmers, a minister of Glasgow. After failing to prevent the introduction of outdoor poor relief in that city, he arranged to exclude such relief from his parish. Like Hamburg Dr. Chalmers' parish was divided into districts, each under a deacon whose duty it was to distinguish and assist the needy and deserving while attempting to instill in them habits of industry, thrift, self-dependence, and ambition.¹⁷

By 1820 at least two of Baltimore's charitable societies had adopted the principle of investigation espoused by Dr. Chalmers and the authorities of Hamburg. The Fell's Point Humane Society announced its intention "to determine without doubt, the actual situation of the persons applying for relief . . . and in all cases where gross immorality, or attempts to impose are discovered, the names of such persons are to be immediately struck from the list."¹⁸ The Baltimore Humane Society operated under like policies.¹⁹

During the hard winter of 1819-1820 all these means of benevolence, public and private, had been taxed to the utmost. To Paul Allen, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, this fact argued for enthusiastic support of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. In April, a month after the society's founding, he wrote:

We surely need not lead our readers back to the horrors, the sufferings, the privations endured by our fellow citizens during the season of cold; we will not lead back their funereal recollections to the bankruptcies of our principal houses, to the disorder of the banks, to the want of a circulating medium, to the decline of commerce, to the influx of foreign paupers, or the increase of our own poor, and

¹⁵ Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement*, pp. 28-32.

¹⁶ Advertisement, *American*, Jan. 4, 1816; communication, *ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1817; Report of Joint Committee . . . on the . . . House of Industry, *ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1820.

¹⁷ Watson, pp. 18-28, 33-35.

¹⁸ "Fell's Point Humane Society," *American*, Feb. 5, 1819.

¹⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 30, 1820.

the exhausting drains occasioned by the collision, and we may add co-operation of so many unfortunate events on the charity of Baltimore. To those who have witnessed such scenes, we would deem the question almost superfluous, why a Society for the Prevention of Pauperism has been established in this city.²⁰

The founders of the Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism had no doubt felt the demands of charity heavily. Fifty of the seventy-two individuals who agreed to serve the society either as officers or as managers or members of ward committees can be identified. Each of these fifty came from either the upper or middle class.

Occupations of Officials²¹

Unknown	22
Merchants and Manufacturers	20
Craftsmen	6
Gentlemen	5
Ship Chandlers and Grocers	5
Storekeepers	4
Lawyers	3
Ministers	2
Newspaper Editors	2
Physicians	2
Accountants	1

John Eager Howard, the first president of the society, was one of Baltimore's leading citizens. Revolutionary hero, statesman, country gentleman, Howard was sixty-eight in 1820. That he did not appear at the society's first meeting and apparently took no active part in the organization thereafter was probably of little consequence. The prestige lent by his name was sufficient.²² The society's treasurer in 1820, later its president, was Philip E. Thomas, son of a Quaker minister, a hardware merchant, and president of the Mechanics Bank. He had advanced the first \$25,000 for construction of Baltimore's Washington Monument and was to be a moving force in the organization of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.²³ Richard Carroll, the secretary of the society, was styled a gentleman in the city directory. The corresponding secretary was Paul Allen, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. The six vice-presidents were Robert Goodloe Harper, prominent Federalist lawyer; Dr. George Roberts; Abner Neal, bookseller and stationer; Robert Smith, who was probably the president of the Universal Insurance Company; the Right Reverend James Kemp, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and the

²⁰ Editorial, *Morning Chronicle*, Apr. 15, 1820.

²¹ Constitution, Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, *American*, Mar. 9, 1820; *The Baltimore City Directory for the Year 1819*.

²² *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879).

²³ Biographical file, Maryland Historical Society.

Reverend John M. Duncan, pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.²⁴ Although about one sixth of Baltimore's population at this time was Catholic, no Catholic clergyman held office in the society. At least three Catholic laymen were members, however, and Robert Goodloe Harper, while apparently not a Catholic himself, had close connections with that church.²⁵

Far from laying claim to originality, the Baltimore society frankly appealed to precedent to support its views. A New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism had been in existence since 1817. Similar movements were afoot in Philadelphia and Boston. The work of Dr. Chalmers in Scotland and the experiments in Hamburg provided the best thought from abroad. Baltimore, as an enlightened and progressive city, argued the society's officials, should join the fight against a growing evil.

The society repeatedly called attention to the growth of pauperism. Although usually presented as self-evident, these statements were backed up with statistics when occasion demanded. The increase in numbers of dependents and expenditures shown in the raw figures was deemed sufficient proof of the assertion. No allowance was made for population growth or changing values of money.²⁶

To stem the rising tide of pauperism the Baltimore society proposed to investigate the circumstances and habits of the poor, and the causes of their poverty; to devise means for improving their situation, both in a physical and moral point of view, to suggest plans for calling into exercise their own endeavors to improve their situation, and afford the means of giving them increased effect; to hold out inducements to economy and saving from the fruits of their own industry in the seasons of great abundance; to discountenance, and as far as possible, to prevent mendicity and street begging, and in fine to do every thing which may tend to ameliorate their condition by stimulating their industry and exciting their own energies.²⁷

In the society's plan of attack on pauperism, investigation came first. The city was to be divided into small districts and "fit persons" set to collecting information about paupers—their names, addresses, race, age, length of residence in Baltimore, "mode of subsistence, whether by street begging or private alms," and capacity to work. The investigators were also to gather data about retail liquor dealers—their names, whether or not licensed, whether

²⁴ *Baltimore City Directory . . . 1819; Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 285–86.

²⁵ "The Diocese of Baltimore in 1818: Archbishop Maréchal's Account to Propaganda, October 16, 1818," *Catholic Historical Review*, I (1915–16), 441; *Cathedral Records* (Baltimore, 1906), p. 51. Harper's wife, Catherine Carroll, was a Catholic, and it is probably for this reason that he held a pew at the Catholic Cathedral. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁶ Communication, *American*, Mar. 9, 1820; editorial, *Morning Chronicle*, Apr. 15, 1820; "Pauperism," *American*, Jan. 12, 1822; *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1820; "To the Public," *ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1821.

²⁷ Constitution, Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, *American*, Mar. 9, 1820.

the establishments were orderly or disorderly “and especially whether opened on the Sabbath”; about houses of ill fame—the number, by whom kept, and whether for prostitution, gambling, or other immoral or illegal practices; about charitable institutions—the number of paupers cared for by tax funds and the number of private charities.²⁸

These official statements were enlarged upon and interpreted by Mr. Allen in his newspaper. In his view the aim of the society was “not indeed to prevent a man from being poor, but to prevent him if possible from becoming a degrading object of public bounty.” He sketched for his readers the convictions that had led to the organization of the society:

It was thought that many claimants on charity had no right to such claims; that many were able by their own industry to provide for the support of themselves, and of their families; that many were downright and detestable imposters, who, while they implored alms, deserved a residence in the Penitentiary; that many of this motly class did not belong to Baltimore, while they were so severely taxing the liberality of the inhabitants, that many had grown hoary in depravity and crime, and were consuming that bounty which should be applied to the relief of indigent merit; that many might be better provided for, by furnishing them with employment, than by pecuniary assistance; that many received public and private donations, not for the purpose of furnishing bread for their families, but for the indulgence of their low, sordid, selfish and criminal appetites, that many real and meritorious objects of pity in the depth of the cold season would rather suffer every privation, than to enjoy either public or private munificence in the company of such wretches.

According to Mr. Allen, investigations conducted by the ward committees would make it possible to distinguish between the “worthy” and the “unworthy” poor. This done, the unworthy might be reformed, “or if incorrigible,” prosecuted, and the worthy assisted by money or work.²⁹

Although the editors of other Baltimore papers did not match Mr. Allen’s zeal in behalf of the society, they conscientiously reported its activities. Despite this publicity and despite its impressive membership, laborers for the society were few.³⁰ Twice during the winter of 1820 Mr. Allen used his columns to reiterate the evils of pauperism and to urge co-operation with the society.³¹ But it was not until the following fall that the organization launched another full-scale appeal. Over the next few months its aims and methods were spelled out in considerably more detail than previously.

The leadoff in the drive for members was an “Address” from the society signed by Mr. Allen and the Reverend Dr. Duncan. Confessing regretfully that few had carried out any investigative work, they nevertheless presented

²⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, May 24, 1820.

²⁹ Editorial, *Morning Chronicle*, Apr. 15, 1820.

³⁰ Address from the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1821.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, Dec. 21, 1820.

four "most obtrusive causes" of pauperism. First, too much drinking produced the result that "many of our young and old men . . . are squandering their time and their money . . . , depriving their families of bread, rendering themselves familiar to vice, and entailing miseries on generations yet unborn." Second, lotteries popularized the belief that "there does exist a dispensation different from that imposed by his adorable Creator—that in the sweat of his face he shall eat his bread—that property may be gained, that wealth may be acquired without labour." Third, houses of prostitution, in their manifest promotion of vice, had encouraged pauperism. Fourth, charitable institutions had fostered the idea that something could be got for nothing. While founded out of "christian motives" therefore, charitable institutions had "encreased the malady" they were "designed to abate" and had "confirmed laziness in vicious habits."³²

The society proposed three means of rooting out the causes of pauperism. The district superintendents, after ascertaining the habits as well as the needs of poor families and after having investigated the oysterhouses and groghops, would "exercise that kind of moral police, which when so united, becomes more formidable than law." Where laws existed to cover public nuisances, the law would be called upon. Where the law seemed lax, the legislature would be appealed to.³³ The more the society expounded its views the more evident it became that its main interest lay in the field of moral reform—a reform that was to be brought about largely by removing temptation from the citizenry.

As soon as this became clear what had been apathy turned into active opposition. Hard on the convening of two public meetings the "Tribunal of Liberty" published a pamphlet attacking the society and all its projected works. "Citizens, Awake!" this *Warning to the Citizens of Baltimore* began, "Under the cover of religion and benevolence, but with little of either at heart, men now conspire to erect in our city an *inquisitorial power*. . . ." The Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, charged the pamphleteers, "proposes not only to assume the attributes of the legislature, it proposes not only to interfere with the customs, and habits, and manners of the community, but to interrupt the common legalized current of trade." The society was "in fact the foundation of a fanatic and gloomy despotism" which would lead to the prohibition of "every rational and elegant amusement in Baltimore," and which by stifling trade would tend to increase pauperism.³⁴

³² *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 15, 1821.

³³ "To the Public," *ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1821.

³⁴ [Tribunal of Liberty], *A Warning to the Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1821).

I cannot identify the Tribunal of Liberty.³⁵ Very likely it was strongly represented, if not wholly controlled, by the liquor and gambling interests. Certainly the liquor interests did not bulk large among the officials of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. Only eight persons turn up as having a possible investment in the liquor trade and only four of them are clearly identifiable as such.³⁶ Aside from a marked anticlerical tone, the concern about trade and the alarm expressed about the possibility of legislation seem the very core of the pamphlet. What customs, habits, and manners could be meant other than those the society had so condemned—drinking and gambling? Unless, perhaps, they should be charities themselves. But the Tribunal of Liberty did not defend indiscriminate almsgiving. Indeed its pamphlet scored the society for turning its back on the one remedy for pauperism the Tribunal considered legitimate:

When Dr. Gray, the only speaker . . . [at the public meeting of the society] that seemed to understand . . . political economy . . . stated . . . that the only way to prevent pauperism, was *to find employment for the poor*, Mr. Duncan replied, that to find employment for the poor might form a part, but certainly *a very small part* of the plan; that the “great moral police,” the “efficient moral restraint,” were the primary objects in view.³⁷

Whether or not the attack on the Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism was instigated by the liquor and gambling interests, the partisans of the society felt called upon to answer it. One defender preferred to remain anonymous but avowed he was not a member. Compare the society’s worthy aim of preventing pauperism with that of other groups which had merely relieved it, he challenged. To argue that the cure for pauperism lay in providing work was all very well. “But it is first necessary to fit the poor for employment.” “In this country,” the author continued, “the sober and able-bodied, if industriously disposed, cannot long want employment. They cannot, but by their own folly and vices, long remain indigent. Correct these vices, whether they are cherished by the bagnio or grog-shop, and you will prevent the consequent evils.”³⁸

The society’s official answer appeared in the newspapers in January, 1822.

³⁵ Neither newspapers, local histories, or private papers have yielded a clue as to the identification of the Tribunal of Liberty. *A Warning to the Citizens of Baltimore* is listed in Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Early Catholic Americana* (New York, 1939). Father Parsons agrees with me that there is no evidence to indicate that it is of Catholic authorship. The only reason for including it in this bibliography was the fact that it is a holding of the library of St. Mary’s Seminary. The anticlerical attitude expressed in the pamphlet with its derogatory references to the Inquisition and to the Holy Alliance leave no doubt that attribution of authorship to a Catholic was an error.

³⁶ Communication, *American*, Mar. 9, 1820; “Merchants and Traders in domestic liquors in the city of Baltimore,” *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 16, 1820.

³⁷ *A Warning to the Citizens of Baltimore*.

³⁸ Anon., *To the Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1822).

Idleness was at the root of pauperism. Benevolence encouraged idleness. In one phrase the society's officials conceded there were "many cases, peculiar in themselves," which called for immediate relief. In another they declared that "mere gratuities . . . going beyond those comparatively few and peculiar cases that have been excepted . . . will certainly do harm." The society did not recommend that all charitable springs be shut off entirely but reminded the public of Malthus' dictum that pauperism be held a disgrace lest the necessary stimulus to industry be removed. Yet the society had no intention of creating work for the poor. Such work was as much a "gratuity" as money. Mr. Allen's understanding that the society would dispense alms and work to the worthy poor, an understanding that was doubtless shared by many of the society's members, was clearly erroneous. In the pronouncement of January, 1822, the evils of charity itself shared with intemperance and ignorance the society's judgment as to the causes of pauperism. Whether from reluctance to offend the opposition further or from a desire to avoid repetition, the statement, although lengthy in its denunciation of alcohol, made no open threats of investigations or references to the law. In assigning ignorance as a cause of pauperism, the society lined itself up with an increasingly popular reform, that of education.³⁹

The society's statement failed to save the organization. The provision of a larger almshouse in 1822, and, following this, the request by the Trustees of the Poor for more money and for authority to compel able-bodied inmates to work there until they had compensated for their care stimulated a few letters to the newspapers which contained references to the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. But interest, if it can be said ever to have existed, was not revived.⁴⁰

The increase in public provision for the poor, however "unworthy," may explain in part the rather marked decline in the number of letters and editorials on the subject of charities during the years immediately following.⁴¹ The newspapers filled their columns instead with notices of the increase in business prosperity—the revival of trade and of manufacturing, the building of canals. Baltimore, in common with the rest of the country, had recovered from the economic depression that the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism had ignored as a cause of destitution.

Had the Baltimore society been content to emphasize the virtues of industry and thrift and to deplore the failure to discriminate between the worthy

³⁹ "Pauperism," *American*, Jan. 12, 1822 (same in *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 5, 1822.)

⁴⁰ See, for example, *American*, 1822-25; *Morning Chronicle*, 1822-23; *Federal Gazette*, 1822-23.

⁴¹ Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 231, relates an apparent decline in private charities to the increase in public provision for the poor.

and the unworthy poor it would probably have aroused no active opposition. Such ideas, rooted in the Protestant ethic and reinforced by the works of Adam Smith and Malthus were not to be successfully challenged at this time. In its determination to institute moral reforms lay the society's distinction and its unpopularity. Much uphill work remained before temperance became a popular movement. The ordinary citizen, apathetic and generous by turns, had need of more evidence before he would subscribe to the theory that pauperism was increasing by leaps and bounds or that its sole cause was personal immorality. Failure that it was by every practical test, the Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism expressed an attitude toward the poor that was to persist and to gain adherents when the times became more propitious.

*Engineer Historical Division, Department of
the Army, Baltimore*

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMATIC METHOD. Being the Chichele Lectures Delivered at the University of Oxford in November 1953. By *Harold Nicolson*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. 93. \$2.25.)

"I have observed that politicians, unlike diplomatists, have no time to learn the lessons of history."

Here, in one sentence, you have the peculiar essence of Harold Nicolson. He has been as much an observer of history in the making as he has been a student of history made. Like Thucydides he writes of political history as one who has seen for himself how its possibilities are constricted by the inherent limitations of men. History is the record of men struggling with what is too big for them; and the historian knows how this is because he has been part of it. He writes with disenchantment, with irony, with sorrow, but never with anger or scorn.

The comparison with Thucydides can be carried no further, for Nicolson's specialized subject does not have the form and grandeur of tragedy. It lacks the beginning, the middle, and the catastrophic end. In these four Chichele Lectures he describes the varying fashions in diplomatic method since Homeric days. The changes, as he says himself, are not evolutionary in the sense of showing a progress; and they lack continuity to the extent that history since the Trojan War is itself broken.

Although the history of diplomatic method is essentially inseparable from political and social history, it is surprising how easily Sir Harold's diplomatic fingers have separated it (although not too much) in these lectures. The Greeks, we learn in the first, were bad diplomatists by temperament. "Being an amazingly clever people, they ascribed a wrong value to ingenuity and stratagem. . . ." The Italian school, identified with Machiavelli, was even worse and brought discredit on the profession—as the second lecture relates. The apogee of the art, by Sir Harold's professional standards, is represented by the continuous diplomacy, based on mutual confidence, for which he credits Grotius and Richelieu in the third lecture, which is entitled "The French System" (of which De Callières was the prophet). Here we have the peculiar development of that international class of professional diplomatists who, having so much in common with one another, were able to bring their respective countries together in peaceful arrangements.

The end is as the beginning. The Greeks never solved the problem of finding an effective diplomatic method that was suitable to democracies. Diplomacy practiced in public became demagoguery. We have not solved that problem either—and it is at this point that history and Sir Harold alike leave us in suspense.

Those who make the history to come would profit by Sir Harold's wise and skillful presentation of the antecedents. Unfortunately, they have no time.

University of Virginia

LOUIS J. HALLE

AMERIGO VESPUCCI E SUAS VIAGENS. By T. O. Marcondes de Souza. [Coleção "Pasquale Petraccone" de estudos italo-brazileiros, no. 2.] (São Paulo: Instituto cultural italo-brasileiro. 1954. Pp. 255.)

AMERIGO VESPUCCI NEL V CENTENARIO DELLA NASCITA. [Numero speciale della Rivista geografica italiana.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1954. Pp. 95. L. 600.)

SINCE Amerigo Vespucci was born in 1454, the two works under consideration here both have an anniversary character.

Amerigo Vespucci e suas viagens is essentially a second edition of the book by the same name which Marcondes de Souza published in 1948. Although rewritten in spots and containing some material not appearing before, the present edition is again a reinforcement of the thesis advanced by Alberto Magnaghi in his *Amerigo Vespucci* in 1924. Magnaghi then and for the remainder of his life maintained that Amerigo had made but two voyages to the New World instead of the four previously conceded him. The argument, followed by Marcondes in 1948 and now, was that the two so-called Vespucci letters published in the great explorer's lifetime and describing four voyages were forgeries, and that the letters published as late as 1745, 1789, and 1827, respectively, and describing only two voyages, are the only authentic ones. Both Magnaghi and Marcondes de Souza have insisted, however, that the discoverer's well-earned glory is not lessened by this drastic amputation of two expeditions, since the two actually made by Vespucci yielded magnificent accomplishments. The first, undertaken in Spanish service in 1499, discovered and mapped the whole northern coast of South America. The second, under the Portuguese standard in 1501, traced the contour of the continent southward to Patagonia and led also to great cartographical advances.

The Magnaghi thesis has recently been under fire from Roberto Levillier of Argentina (*America la bien llamada*, Buenos Aires, 1948). One of the new portions of Marcondes' second edition is a defense of the thesis against Levillier, who believes that all the letters attributed to Vespucci are authentic and hence that all four voyages must be accepted. Both sides here are favorable to Amerigo; their difference is over the selection of evidence. The present reviewer, who is on record elsewhere as siding mainly with Levillier, acknowledges that Marcondes de Souza is a considerable historian, no mere imitator of Magnaghi but one able to stand on his own feet and present original arguments.

Amerigo Vespucci nel V centenario della nascita is a compilation of essays, three by Italian scholars and one by Marcondes de Souza. Roberto Almagià, the

dean of living Italian geographers, contributes "Alcune considerazioni sulla 'questione vespucciana,'" a discussion of the source material existing on the discoverer outside the letters written by, or attributed to, him. It is worthy of notice in passing that Almagià, who once followed Magnaghi, now accepts the four-voyage interpretation. Marcondes de Souza writes "Amerigo Vespucci e la priorità della scoperta del Brasile," which presents an argument also featured in his book; namely, that Vespucci, who was on the Brazilian coast in 1499, takes precedence over Cabral as the discoverer. Emilio Malesani, in "Recenti contributi agli studi vespucciani," chiefly analyzes the Vespuccian writings of Magnaghi, Frederick Pohl, Giuseppe Caraci, and Levillier. Pohl and Caraci, who are Magnaghi partisans, are stacked with their maestro against Levillier, who, needless to say, is sorely outnumbered, especially as Malesani throws his own weight into the balance against him. Giuseppe Barbieri and Annie Luchetti conclude the small volume with a "Bibliografia di Amerigo Vespucci (1498-1499)," which, if not complete, is still very welcome.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD. Volume II, FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA, 1588, TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, 1815. By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1955. Pp. x, 561. \$6.00.)

THIS and the first volume of General Fuller's history (*AHR*, July, 1955, p. 857), considered together, have a certain massive grandeur. The narrative moves with measured pace, from century to century, unhurried yet never bogging down, from the dawn of what Fuller calls "imperialism"—i.e., the lust for territorial expansion—in the clash of the ancient civilizations of the Near East, down to the epic finale in 1815 of modern France's last great adventure in land-grabbing on the European continent. Fuller conceives his story as a drama in three acts: the first ending at Lepanto and played on the narrow stage of the Mediterranean basin and southwestern Asia; the second ending at Waterloo, with its locale in the lands bordering on the Atlantic; the third, which he has yet to write, ranging over the entire globe and not yet ended. Within this broadening geographical pattern he sees a corresponding political one—the emergence of the Roman Empire in the first period, of the British Empire in the second, and, probably, of a world empire in the third (whether Russian or American he is not yet prepared to say).

Still, Fuller's painting of this broad panorama is disappointing. At least, it will disappoint many readers who had hoped to see him throw the great weight of his prestige and erudition behind the movement to break loose from the venerable tradition of "great captains" and "great battles." Some of Fuller's earlier books held promise of doing precisely this. What he has given us here, however, is

essentially a procession of great battles—a rewrite, in fact, of his earlier *Decisive Battles*. True, the procession is richly ornate and immensely long; the intervals between the great battles are filled by lesser ones, along with political developments, character sketches, and disquisitions on the state of the military arts; and each battle is accompanied by an explanation of how it influenced history. In an effort to smooth out the episodic pattern, Fuller has even introduced a brief “Chronicle” of intervening events following each “battle” chapter.

But surely there is more to military history than this. War is a collective undertaking of society. It is probably true that civilians in past ages were less involved in it, on the whole, than in the present one. Even so, the historian still has a multitude of questions to explore: In what manner, in any given war, did the various groups of society in fact contribute to it? How did society organize for war? To what extent were its resources mobilized? One might even find oneself wondering, after a while, whether the battle is indeed the payoff—always or necessarily. General Fuller has not merely neglected the anatomy of society at war; he tells us comparatively little even about the soldiers and sailors themselves, their weapons, training, and tactical organization—about four pages, for example, in the 26-page chapter on Breitenfeld and Lutzen, only about two in the 23-page chapter on Valmy. The campaigns and the battles are the thing, and Fuller tells this story in loving detail, with an impressive display of erudition (although his use of the primary sources is sometimes haphazard).

The book as a whole, or almost any part of it, makes a very good yarn; it is handsomely mounted and has a liberal allotment of maps. But to call this “A Military History of the Western World” is a little like calling a detailed account of the presidential conventions and elections “A Political History of the United States.”

Washington, D. C.

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

LA NAISSANCE DE LA CIVILISATION INDUSTRIELLE ET LE MONDE CONTEMPORAIN. By *John U. Nef*, Professeur à l'Université de Chicago. [Collection Economies—Sociétés—Civilisations.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1954. Pp. 249. 680 fr.)

In this essay, which represents a reworking of lectures delivered at the Collège de France in 1953, we have something of a distillation of Professor Nef's long and productive career. On the one hand the book offers a reinterpretation of the birth and development of industrial capitalism; on the other, it derives from the historical analysis a lesson for our time. Briefly, Professor Nef, relying heavily on his own earlier research on the British coal industry, European mining, and the comparative role of government in England and France in the economic development of the two countries, argues as follows: that “industrial civilization”—in the sense of machines, nonhuman power, the factory, etc.—is primarily the result of a shift

from traditional qualitative values to quantitative ones, from stress on the individuality, care, and fineness of the artist's or craftsman's product to a search for cheap, time-saving techniques of producing standardized goods; and that this shift occurred first in England for a number of reasons: the availability of abundant, accessible deposits of coal—particularly suited to inexpensive mass production—favorable natural conditions of transportation, the opportunities afforded private enterprise by the confiscations of the Reformation, the diminished importance of the clerical market for articles of quality, the comparative weakness of the English state vis-à-vis the commercial and industrial classes, and the relative peace enjoyed by England during what Professor Nef sees as the critical period of change, the century from 1540 to 1640. On the other hand, Professor Nef, examining history in the light of his fundamental motor, the shift to quantitative values, depreciates the significance of two well-known if moot factors frequently adduced to explain the rise of industrial capitalism: the price inflation of the sixteenth century and the development of a Calvinist ethic of in-the-world asceticism. There is little discussion of the origin of this allegedly new interest in quantity.

Over and against this stimulus of the drive to quantity, the author sets the continued importance of qualitative values, particularly in advancing scientific knowledge and promoting peace. Their indirect contribution in this way to industrial advance has been, he feels, great. Moreover, he affirms, they have become all the more important as industrial and technological change have not only mechanized and dehumanized life but have now brought us to the threshold of self-destruction. He calls, accordingly, for a new emphasis on quality, good living, and a return to the international comprehension, mutual tolerance, and sensitive refinement of the eighteenth century—a return, in short, to higher values in which a country like France, long the leading representative of these virtues, can make its greatest contribution to Western civilization.

It is, of course, impossible to convey in a short review the nuances and suggestive asides of Professor Nef's argument. Nor is a detailed criticism of either the evidence or reasoning feasible. To this writer, the historical sections were unconvincing, sometimes owing to Professor Nef's apparent misunderstanding of an issue—the discussion of the Weber thesis is particularly weak—sometimes owing to the inadequacy or irrelevance of the evidence—among others the analysis of the relative absence or mildness of war in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is most questionable. Above all, the book as a whole seems to me to rest on a fundamental error of reasoning, the reification of a derivative symptom as the primary source of change. Yet there is no question about the richness of the volume, its thoughtfulness, its imaginative working of the fabric of history. Whether or not one agrees with him, Professor Nef is eminently worth reading and pondering.

Columbia University

DAVID S. LANDES

LE LOUP ET LE LÉOPARD: MUSTAPHA KÉMAL, OU LA MORT D'UN EMPIRE and IBN-SÉOUD, OU LA NAISSANCE D'UN ROYAUME. Two volumes. By J. Benoist-Méchin. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1954, 1955. Pp. 438, 446. 900 fr. ea.)

In his introduction Jacques Benoist-Méchin justifies writing this imposing pair of biographies on the ground that previous works on Kemal and Ibn Sa'ud have lacked something which is revealed only when one life is seen against the background of the other. They represent, he says, "complementary destinies," two themes in the same symphony, which is the awakening of the Near Eastern peoples. There are, in fact, fascinating parallels and contrasts to be found. But Benoist-Méchin has not succeeded in interrelating the two lives. He has produced simply two biographies, either of which can stand alone. The promise of the introduction is unfulfilled.

The actual reason for publication of the volumes is probably that they will be popular with the French-reading public. There is no completely satisfactory biography of either Kemal or Ibn Sa'ud in any language, but the studies in French are as a rule inferior to those in English and German. Since Benoist-Méchin's books make interesting reading, and are done in a somewhat episodic and melodramatic style, they will fill a gap of sorts for the general public, and stimulate interest in the modern Near East.

For the historian, unfortunately, they have little to offer. Neither volume is first-class biography or history. No new insights emerge; no new factual material has been unearthed. Furthermore, though the main lines of development in each case are accurately presented, there are irritating errors of detail. There would be no point to cataloguing these, but as examples one might cite the misplacement of the Young Turk revolution of 1908 in the spring (instead of the summer), the absurd statement that at Lausanne in 1923 the Greek delegation supported all the Turkish claims, the notion that the British-Russian-Iranian treaty of January 29, 1942 (here misdated as December 28, 1941), "annulled" the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919, or the acceptance of Husni Za'im's "election" of 1949 as a popular mandate of the Syrians.

The basic difficulty seems to be that these biographies are based neither on first-hand knowledge nor on broad research even in western-language sources. Benoist-Méchin had some contact with the area during World War II as agent of the Vichy government; but aside from this he was restricted, judging by his introductory remarks, to a rather spotty selection of books and recent periodicals on which he could later lay his hands while in confinement. So it is that he cites nothing of Philby, Rihani, Rutter, or van der Meulen on Arabia, to mention only a few; nothing of Deny, Jäschke, or Halide Edib on Turkey. He lists among his sources the "National Archives, Ankara," but it is not apparent what research he may have done there.

For each volume the basic material is mined from H. C. Armstrong's biogra-

phies of the two men, *Grey Wolf* and *Lord of Arabia*. To this the author adds a longer historical introduction, some more recent material, and embellishments of detail. Benoist-Méchin explicitly acknowledges his great debt to Armstrong, quoting him often with proper credit, though his translations are often loose. But the debt to Armstrong is still greater than appears from the footnotes. Also, while Benoist-Méchin has adopted Armstrong's breathless style, he has cut out the checkered aspects of Kemal's personal life. Even in *Ibn-Séoud* he omits, with no indication of it, one sentence in quoting Armstrong's description of the stern Wahhabi *ulema*: "Their only indulgence was their sex and their women." Perhaps this reliance on Armstrong explains why *Mustapha Kémal* peters out about 1930, saying little on Kemal's last eight years. *Ibn-Séoud* is better rounded, though it wanders into tangents on the Arab world during the recent war.

In sum, these biographies are good reading, evoke a vivid picture of each momentous career, but are unprofitable for the historian.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1952. Selected and Edited by *Denise Folliot*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 529. \$8.80.)

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1952. By *Peter Calvocoressi*. Assisted by *Konstanze Isepp*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 473. \$7.20.)

IN maintaining the standards expected of Chatham House scholarship, these companion volumes provide the captious critic with disappointingly few errors or lapses of taste. Nor can one complain that the documents and survey for 1952 were not published until 1955 since the lag seems normal for the series. Rather the reviewer must marvel that Miss Folliot and Mr. Calvocoressi and the Oxford University Press managed to bring the two volumes out on the same day.

At the beginning of the *Survey* is a note by Arnold Toynbee on the three world maps that are glued in at its end. "Down to 1940," writes Mr. Toynbee, "the arena of international affairs was still the flat oblong shape that it had been since the beginning of history." Then during the war American naval operations (unlike our earlier diplomatic notes) filled in the Pacific gap and made the oblong a continuous belt around the globe. Since the war "the conquest of the air over the North Pole" has stretched the belt to cover the entire northern hemisphere. The consequence is a revolutionary geopolitical change: "Each of the two surviving Power-groups is now threatened by the other . . . on *three* fronts, east, west, and north, whereas before 1940 no Power was ever threatened on more than two fronts. . . ."

This idea is well worth development. Is it possible that now the risks of three fronts will deter the soberer militarists more effectively than the uncertainties of the old-fashioned two-front war? Mr. Toynbee's concept of a front, however, may be insufficiently dimensional for the current struggle in which popular fronts may be employed as a tool of foreign policy and guided missiles pass freely over national frontiers. But the idea is not developed and in both *Documents* and *Survey* the arena of international affairs resembles the prewar, obsolete oblong extending from "The Western Alliance" to "South-East Asia" some 400 pages later. It is true that American troops, still fighting in Korea and indefinitely stationed in Japan, show that there is no Pacific break in the belt, but Mr. Toynbee's third or northern front remains with no other illustration than the physical, political, and demographic maps which show the desolate Arctic Ocean to be the Mediterranean of the air age.

The main events that are "illustrated" in the *Documents* and "treated" in the *Survey* are the continuing failure of truce talks in Korea, the rupture of Anglo-Persian relations, the deposition of King Farouk, French rows with Tunisian and Moroccan nationalists, and the signing of contractual agreements with Germany and of the European defense treaty. Sentiment for a supranational solution of western Europe's multiple problems perhaps reached its peak in 1952, but the tide failed to "wash up much besides froth." The text of the E.D.C. treaty is available for necrotomy. There was some unproductive note-writing on a four-power parley, but the cold war continued without thaw and armaments retained their prior claims on man's brilliant skills of invention and his undiminished income tax.

Both volumes, but particularly the *Documents*, will be valued over the years by a variety of scholars including the writers of history (pure or applied). The *Survey* may have diminishing utility but it is itself a document for the historian of Anglo-American relations. At several points we are given arresting glimpses of ourselves as Britain sees us. For example, the *Survey* states that French problems in Tunisia were made much more difficult by "the conditioned American reflex to the word colonialism"; and any adventurer in Egypt could expect our cordial support at Britain's expense if he appealed to a few standard American stereotypes including, of course, that of the wickedness of other nations' imperialism. Later on, the *Survey* swings on an American approach to backward peoples in stating flatly that oil royalties paid in Saudi Arabia by Aramco first ended penury at the king's court, then "flooded it with demoralizing abundance." (Oil may not be the best lubricant for the English-speaking axis.)

A more basic difference is brought out in the discussion of the western alliance and its policy of rearmament in 1952. European fears of the Soviet's military power brought the North Atlantic Treaty Organization into existence, but by 1952 these fears had somewhat abated. In contrast anticommunism was becoming, in some American quarters, "almost as hysterical as in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy."

Hence a division between American and European opinion and tempers which threatened the uniformity of American and European policies. The leadership of the alliance belonged in the nature of things to the U.S.A. At a time when the changing mood of Europe placed on the leaders an obligation to provide a new inspiration in place of fear, the American mood did not yet require any such alternative emotion. The estrangement was transformed from awkwardness to seriousness by the almost incredible licence of political mountebanks in the U.S.A., whose antics discredited the U.S.A. the more because the struggle between east and west had been so sedulously represented as an ideological struggle in which the U.S.A. claimed to lead what Europe called liberalism.

Bennington College

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

Ancient and Medieval History

CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI. By *Arnaldo Momigliano*. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1955. Pp. 413.)

It is salutary to be reminded frequently, at least on this side of the Atlantic, how ancient is the practice of writing Roman history and how little, after all, has been added to the sum of our knowledge in this century. Epigraphy, numismatics, prosopology have all added their bit, and we may be more critical of some of the sources accepted by our forefathers, but the broad lines of Roman history have remained substantially unchanged, and historians, as distinct from antiquarians (Momigliano's distinction), are concerned with much the same problems today as yesterday—problems primarily in the realm of ideas.

In this collection of essays written at different periods, some in English, some in Italian, and one in German, Arnaldo Momigliano provides us with a fascinating series of commentaries on modern historians of the ancient world from the sixteenth century to the present, many of them previously mere names at least to this reviewer. The most substantial of these pieces is the extremely rich 58-page essay "La formazione della moderna storiografia sull'Impero Romano," which suggests forcibly how much might still be learned from those long dead historians, each of whom is critically evaluated as a historian and not merely as a representative of the time in which he lived. For his *understanding* of the Roman Empire Momigliano gives the palm to Ranke, giving full reasons for his choice, with which one might disagree; elsewhere he gives high praise, naturally, to Mommsen, and in a special series of essays pays tribute to Rostovtzeff, especially for his power of evoking the ancient world, though he criticizes his handling of ideas.

Less attention is paid to the writing of Greek history, a more modern development owing much to Grote, to whom one useful essay is devoted; here the author criticizes much in recent Greek historiography while pointing to many fields worthy of further exploration in the light of new information available. Another essay (in German) deals with Greek historiography in Italy with special emphasis on De Sanctis, who is greatly admired by the author.

The many criticisms of modern historiography of the ancient world scattered throughout the book are summarized in a short essay, "A Hundred Years after Ranke," originally given as an introduction to a course on historical method in 1953 at the University of Reading. These evaluations are evidently not made lightly and deserve serious consideration from all who are trying to write ancient history in the present age. But the entire book has so many wise observations on the writing of history in general, as well as ancient history, and includes so many valuable bibliographies difficult to find elsewhere, that this reviewer is happy to possess the book and will frequently re-read it; he would also recommend it to those of his craft who may have but a peripheral interest in the subject.

City College of New York

STEWART C. EASTON

CIVILIZATION AND THE CAESARS: THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Chester G. Starr*, Professor of History, University of Illinois. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 413. \$6.50.)

THE subject of this book is the intellectual revolution which marked the decline of classical culture and the rise of medieval culture. The period which it covers is the four centuries from Cicero to St. Augustine. The chief political tendency of this age, the author points out, was the growing centralization of government, in the course of which the political independence of the old aristocracy and the corporate independence of the old city-state were alike destroyed. Autocracy, however, the author continues, was not the cause of the intellectual revolution. The change took place *within* the individual and, when it was completed, old ties were loosed and new ties formed. The visible signs of this new way of life were the agricultural community and the Christian church. Its inner manifestations were, to use the author's own words, "the concept of the individual as a distinct entity, the idea that the physical world and man were things apart though under identical governance, the belief that man had a soul and could through it claim access to a divine power" (p. 308). What seems to be meant here, if one may try to express clearly what the author expresses obscurely, is the spiritual integrity of every man before God, the single sovereignty of God over all creation, and personal survival after death. Through the Christian church these ideas acquired force and organization. The imperial autocracy was, as it were, a *felix culpa* by which the older loyalties were finally and utterly destroyed.

That these ideas (among others) became prominent in the later empire and found their historical expression most effectively in Christianity, none will deny. But when the author writes, "modern civilization rests squarely upon the new view of the nature of man and the world hammered out in the four centuries from Cicero to Augustine" (p. 5), he is guilty of exaggeration. There were at least two other very important intellectual revolutions since the rise of Christianity,

namely, the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment, and the modern secular mind is much more at home with Lucretius than with patristic theology. The author is bolder still when he writes, "Yet Augustine's essential acceptance of nature might eventually lead to the closer observation of the world around us, both in Byzantine and in Western culture, as an expression of the beneficent force of the divine. This observation, it is now recognized, was the root of modern science and art" (p. 358). This view, it is true, has been recently advanced, and perhaps it can be defended, but it is certainly not self-evident.

If the author manifests a spirit of adventure in his historical judgments, he exhibits no less lack of restraint and discipline in his writing. A sentence like this, "In the reign of Trajan writers were generally free from curbs, but the bony claws of past specters clutched and slowed men's pens" (p. 167), reveals a kind of style which might well have been avoided. He sometimes descends to colloquial ("fizzled out" on p. 135) and dialectical usage ("unbeknownst" on p. 381), and his use of "humans" as a noun over and over again (when he means "man" or "mankind") is inexcusable. In general, the style is diffuse and the language obscure. Since this work is not a monograph or a textbook or a *vulgarisation*, perhaps it is a *tour de force*. But if it is, it lacks the two qualities which make a *tour de force* acceptable—intellectual brilliance and a mastery of prose style.

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number Eight. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. 330, 42 illustrations. \$7.50.)

THIS is one of the largest volumes published by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. It is dedicated to the late Robert Pierpont Blake, one of the pioneers in the United States in the study of Byzantine civilization, and contains ten studies. It includes also a short biography and the bibliography of Blake, both by Robert Lee Wolff, one of his pupils.

In the study entitled "The Classical Background of the *Scriptores Post Theophanem*," R. J. H. Jenkins examines the historical collection known as Theophanes Continuatus, especially Book V, the *Vita Basilii*, and shows that the work as a literary type was strongly influenced by Isocrates, Polybius, and Plutarch, and points to the Life of Augustus by Nicholas of Damascus as the specific model of the *Vita Basilii*. Jenkins offers this work as a concrete example in literature of the influence of the revival in the ninth and tenth centuries in Byzantium of the classical tradition. An article by A. Dain entitled, "La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète," has as its subject the philological activity of the Byzantines and their production of classical books. William A. Banner writes on "Origen and the Tradition of Natural Law Concepts," analyzing the various concepts of natural law as they were developed in Greek philosophy and taken over by the early Fathers with particular emphasis

on the contributions of Origen. Two of the studies, one by E. Kitzinger, entitled "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," the other by M. V. Anastos, called "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," deal with the problem of images in Byzantium. With characteristic thoroughness and clarity Kitzinger delves into the problem of the expansion of the cult of images in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm, while Anastos studies the iconoclastic theory that "the only true image of Christ and the Saints is Man endowed with the Christian virtues." With the title "An Armenian Version of the Homilies on the Harrowing of Hell," S. Der Nersessian analyzes a hitherto unpublished Armenian version of the descent of John and Christ into Hell and the redemption of the souls imprisoned there, while R. L. Wolff contributes, under the title of "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," what may be described as a solid monograph on the subject. The section on church property is a real contribution. Two of the remaining articles are by André Grabar. The one entitled "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures" describes a liturgical manuscript and its illustrations now in the library of the Greek patriarchate in Jerusalem; the other called "Un nouveau reliquaire de saint Démétrios" is a description of a reliquary of St. Demetrius, probably of the thirteenth century and now at Dumbarton Oaks. Finally, under the title, "Inscriptions on the Sabaeen Bronze Horse of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," A. Jamme publishes and translates with commentary three Sabaeen inscriptions found on an early sixth-century bronze horse possessed by Dumbarton Oaks.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

THE FEUDAL KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, 1042-1216. By *Frank Barlow*. [A History of England in Nine Volumes.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1955. Pp. xii, 465. \$5.00.)

If this second volume is an adequate sample of the series being produced under the editorship of W. N. Medlicott, we may anticipate a collective history of distinctive character. Dr. Barlow holds that if history has any meaning it must tell a story. Yet his narrative is adequately interspersed with cross sections on economic, social, religious, and intellectual conditions. He treats England as an integral part of the west European scene in politics as well as in other aspects of its civilization. Another commendable feature is the choice of 1042 as the beginning of the Anglo-Norman period. Equally judicious is the conclusion of the feudal age with the greatest of feudal documents.

Although much of this history follows well-known paths, it presents unique features in the treatment of the diverse patterns of Anglo-Saxon lordship, the account of the investiture conflict, the penetrating analysis of canon and Roman law, and the exposition of the accepted belief regarding the theocratic nature of kingship. The commentary on the character and policies of the Norman-Angevin

kings and their justiciars is excellent and, in the cases of the Red King and of John, refreshing because of its remarkable objectivity. The analysis of monastic cathedral chapters and the emergent problems reflects the author's scholarship. Agriculture and trade are effectively, though briefly, described; the account of the journey of the collectors from Laon through southern and western England is more specific and exact than that of Miss Norgate. The index is unusually complete, the text is exceptionally free from errors, and there are useful dynastic charts.

Dr. Barlow's perfunctory comment on the *murdrum fine* could well be expanded into a fuller treatment of presentment of Englishry. The statements on pages 99 and 231 do not make clear the occasion of the introduction of the sworn inquest. The attack of Gerald of Barri on Henry II's marriage with Eleanor and on his reputed relations with Alice of France might have been accompanied by a reference to the defeat of that chronicler's ambitions in 1176 by this same monarch. Although the editor indicates that the bibliographical notes are not intended to supersede existing bibliographies, yet, so long as Stubbs is included, why not Freeman and Norgate? One may question the use of such obscure terms as the "hated starrs" of the Jews. The total space devoted to literature is too small—considerably less in proportion than that given by Poole in the corresponding volume of the Oxford history.

But these are exceptions to a thorough treatment and a vigorous style; the account of the battle of Stamford Bridge as the final episode in the Scandinavian phase of English history reaches a forceful lucidity hardly surpassed in contemporary historiography. In fact, the happy combination of good narrative writing with reliable scholarship makes this one of the choicest books on the particular period of medieval England.

DePauw University

COEN G. PIERSON

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, SCHOLAR AND BISHOP: ESSAYS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SEVENTH CENTENARY OF HIS DEATH.

Edited by *D. A. Callus*. With an Introduction by *Sir Maurice Powicke*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxv, 263. \$6.75.)

DURING the past fifty years, the figure of Robert Grosseteste, first chancellor of Oxford University and bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253, has been acquiring an ever greater significance. The importance of Grosseteste as the virtual founder of modern scientific method, as translator from the Greek, as Biblical scholar, as preacher, and as reforming bishop has been increasingly demonstrated by the past two generations of European and American scholars. This collection of essays by a group of leading British Grosseteste scholars makes available to the general reader the fruits of this research. The work is of a consistently high quality and includes special studies by well-qualified experts of Grosseteste's scholar-

ship, scientific activities, and Biblical studies; his administration of the diocese of Lincoln, his relations with the crown and the papacy, his library, and his *familia*.

This book does not suffer, as do so many similar "co-operative" works, from a lack of unity or unevenness of quality. Its contributors are acquainted with each other and have evidently discussed many of their problems and exchanged information and opinions. The entire work is fully abreast of the latest scholarship. The bibliography, intelligently selected, includes printed sources and a guide to the pertinent manuscripts.

There are many problems concerning Grosseteste, both of opinion and fact, such as his residence at Paris, his knowledge of Hebrew, and his authorship of various works, which are at present unanswerable. The dating of many of Grosseteste's works is also a precarious task, as Dr. Callus confesses, and there will be some disagreement with several of the dates assigned in this book. But it is only fair to note that on every debatable point all the known evidence is summarized and variant opinions are given full notice. Gaps in our knowledge of Grosseteste and problems demanding further study are diligently noted by all the contributors.

The only really serious shortcoming of the book is the absence of a study of Grosseteste's relations with the mendicant orders. Grosseteste became the first reader of the Franciscans at Oxford, and later as chancellor of the University and bishop of Lincoln he did much to create a solid tradition of learning among both the Franciscans and Dominicans, to keep their efforts directed toward the proper goals, and to aid them in establishing themselves in England. Dr. Callus apologizes for this omission in his preface and regrets the "unforeseen circumstances" which prevented the execution of this part of his original plan.

All in all, this volume succeeds admirably in its attempt to portray Robert Grosseteste, within the limits of our present knowledge, as the universal genius that he surely was, by holding up to view his manifold activities, the high caliber of his mind and work, and his tremendous influence both on his own age and on subsequent times.

North Dakota Agricultural College

RICHARD C. DALES

KÖNIG LUDWIG IX., DER HEILIGE, UND DAS RECHT: STUDIE ZUR GESTALTUNG DER LEBENSORDNUNG FRANKREICHS IM HOHEN MITTELALTER. By *Ludwig Buisson*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1954. Pp. xi, 254. DM 14.50.)

At the beginning of the reign of St. Louis the *curia regis*, as a court of justice, still had only limited competence and rudimentary organization and techniques. By the end of the reign it was hearing a steadily increasing number of cases, drawn from all parts of the realm, and it had developed a flexible and sophisticated jurisprudence. Mr. Buisson is concerned with three aspects of this expansion of royal

justice: first, the climate of opinion out of which the new jurisprudence grew, second, the content of the new jurisprudence (basic legal ideas, techniques for increasing jurisdiction), and third, the influence on the court of St. Louis' own ideas about justice and the duties of kingship.

The treatment of the first of these topics is the least satisfactory part of the book. It was probably impossible, in a short discussion, to deal adequately with all the currents of learned and popular opinion which favored the growth of royal justice. Yet those who are familiar with the customary law of North France and of England may feel that the author underestimates the influence of custom and overemphasizes the influence of Roman and canon law. The twelfth-century kings of England, working largely on a basis of customary law, developed many of the ideas which Mr. Buisson ascribes to the influence of the written law.

The rest of the book is excellent. Through careful study of the *Olim*, and the law-books of the period, the author has shown how the court developed and sharpened legal concepts, such as seisin, prescription, breach of the peace, protection of the church, and right of appeal, and wove them together so that the king's jurisdiction was greatly extended. The jurists of the king's court were subtle in their thinking and flexible in their techniques. This might have led, as it did later in the century, to a relentless drive for power masked by legal forms. But St. Louis' innate sense of justice and strong religious feeling kept the growth of royal justice within acceptable limits; he never allowed the technical competence of his court to degenerate into casuistry. He preferred to extend his jurisdiction through consent rather than through force, though he was ready to use force when the peace of the realm was troubled or the welfare of the church was threatened.

This is an interesting and important book, worth careful study by all scholars interested in the law and institutions of medieval France.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE ET LA FORMATION DU DUCHÉ DU XI^e
AU XIV^e SIÈCLE. By *Jean Richard*. [Publications de l'Université de Dijon,
XII.] (Paris: Société "Les Belles Lettres." 1954. Pp. xxxix, 570.)

THE late Louis Halphen would have bestowed high praise upon this book, begun under his direction, by Jean Richard. It fulfills in every respect the high standards set by Halphen in the field of institutional history. Burgundy has had its historians in men such as Petit and Seignobos, but Richard is the first to show how the dukes began in the late eleventh century to hammer out a state over which by the early fourteenth century they had imposed a centralized administration with their sovereignty recognized by all. Richard examines every technique used by the dukes to increase their territory and wealth: inheritance of Carolingian powers, rights of feudal lordship, feudal warfare, treaties, support of the French kings, *hommage en marche*, *fiefs de reprise*, multiple liege homage,

new fairs and markets, innovation in taxation, the granting of communes, and the foundation of *villes neuves*.

But of even more interest than the pragmatic methods employed to augment the ducal power is Richard's treatment of the institutions developed on the central and local level to administer the growing duchy; here he makes his most important contribution. Supplementing the printed records with a wealth of archival material, he untangles the composition of the early *curia ducis* and traces its later specialization into *hôtel*, *parlement*, and treasury. On the local level he shows how a miscellaneous group of ill-defined units called *pôtés* and *châtellenies* administered by *châtelains* and *prévôts* of the classic feudal type developed in the thirteenth century into a group of large *bailliages* subdivided into smaller units. Rejecting the current view that the *baillis* appeared in the early thirteenth century in imitation of those previously installed by the Capetians, Plantagenets, and Flemish counts, Richard argues that they did not appear until 1262. As antecedents they had first an officer styled *vigerius* (a *prévôt* with authority over other *prévôts*) who was then supplanted in the early part of the century by roving commissions of officers (*mandata ducis*) granted special powers for specific missions. These temporary commissioners were finally replaced by salaried *baillis* responsible for defined areas.

This study of Burgundian institutions shows that they developed much later than those of other states. Richard's failure to come to grips with an explanation for this retardation constitutes one of the few weaknesses of his book. Perhaps the predominance of the allod in Burgundy slowed the establishment of ducal authority; and yet in other areas large amounts of allodial land resulted in no such delay. Or perhaps the smallness of Burgundy enabled the dukes to govern more in person instead of delegating authority as had to be done, for example, by the French kings and Alphonse of Poitiers. But, we may then ask, why in a small state like Flanders does one find a strong administration on all levels as early as Thierry and Philip of Alsace? Could it be that more attention devoted to the economic development of these areas would help to account for the backwardness of Burgundian institutions?

To wish for this explanation is possibly asking too much from a book that has described so well the formation of the duchy of Burgundy. It is enough to have written a book that one day will help to make possible a comparative study of western European institutions in the Middle Ages.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

DE KRIJGSKUNST IN WEST-EUROPA IN DE MIDDELEEUEWEN (IX^e TOT BEGIN XIV^e EEUW). By J. F. Verbruggen. [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, no. 20.] (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën. 1954. Pp. 619.)

IN *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* J. F. Verbruggen brings to the study of medieval warfare a refreshingly different point of view. This is no mere chronicle of wars, battles, and sieges; it is, on the whole, a successful attempt to define the "anatomy of war" as it relates to the particular conditions that influenced the conduct of war from the ninth to the early fourteenth century. Verbruggen has limited his field to the era in which the heavily armed knight dominated European battlefields. One regrets exceedingly that the author did not extend his work in both directions to include on the one hand the developments of the Carolingian age and, on the other, the eventual triumph of the English and Swiss infantry systems.

As the author points out, the Middle Ages have not always been fortunate in their military historians. Professional soldiers writing on the subject seldom possess the *critical apparatus* necessary to evaluate medieval sources properly; professional scholars as seldom have the requisite knowledge of tactics and strategy. This has resulted, most of us would agree, in a thorough misunderstanding of medieval warfare. Verbruggen asserts that far from being a decadent, or even a static, period in the history of the military art, the development of heavy cavalry in western Europe marked a technical advance over the practices of the ancients. I am inclined to question his conclusion that medieval armies were organized and conducted operations on a semiprofessional basis—it is one thing to set up tactical units but quite another to train them to fight as such, and the proofs offered seem at best inconclusive.

Of especial interest are the sections dealing with battle psychology and the use of mercenary troops. Very little attention has been paid to the factor of morale in medieval armies. That it was often lacking is well known. Here is an attempt to deal with the problem not as it applies to a single battle or campaign but to warfare in general, to the human and personal element which is so often lost sight of when dealing with the Middle Ages. Only in recent years has the importance of the mercenary element in the armies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries been adequately recognized. The work of Boussard and Grundmann has been advanced by Verbruggen with the analysis of sources principally from the Low Countries.

The author's chief failing—not a surprising one—is his weakness in dealing with developments in the British Isles. Although the principal sources have been consulted, Verbruggen has leaned too heavily on the interpretations of Oman, especially for the events of the thirteenth century. Morris' *Welsh Wars* has been only sparingly used; Round's contributions on knight service in England have been strangely neglected; and there is no reference to the work of Painter, particularly in connection with the grand strategy of the Bouvines campaign. The recent studies of the money fief by Bryce Lyon had not appeared in time to be consulted. Verbruggen's conclusions with regard to English developments must be accepted with reservations. In addition the important role of fortifications in medieval warfare is inadequately treated.

De Krijgskunst in West-Europa is an important contribution to the military history of the Middle Ages and it is unfortunate that the language difficulty will tend to limit the circulation which it deserves.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

JOHN H. BEELER

STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW RZEMIOSŁA W OKRESIE KRYZYSU FEUDALIZMU
W ZACHODNIEJ EUROPIE W XIV I XV WIEKU. By *Marian Małowist*.
(Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii. 1954. Pp. 488.)

MAŁOWIST's *Studies in the History of West European Handicraft during the Period of the Feudal Crisis in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* is a collection of three long essays, written from the Marxist point of view. The first deals with the Flemish draperies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the second analyzes some aspects of the history of the English draperies during the period of the crisis of the feudal system; the third treats the foundations of Dutch economic expansion in the Baltic countries during the late Middle Ages.

While the first two essays are rather hypothetical, based on insufficient source material (the author admits it readily himself without, however, explaining this shortcoming), the third paper, more solid, is a valuable contribution to the story of Dutch commercial expansion in the Baltic basin. In this essay the brilliant pupil of the late Professor Marceł Handelsman of Warsaw University begins by outlining the development of the economic power of medieval Holland, with particular emphasis on the draperies and the fisheries, and ends with an analysis of the competition between the Dutch and the Hanseatic League.

From the thirteenth century, trade between the Baltic area and the West was controlled by the Hansa, which, having gained the commercial mastery of the shores of the Baltic Sea, penetrated deeper into the hinterland. In the second half of the fourteenth century, when the Hansa reached the climax of its development, commerce along the Bruges-Novgorod axis was monopolized by the powerful league. At this time the Dutch traders appeared. By successfully underselling the Hansa, the enterprising Dutch gradually managed to gain an increasingly greater share of the grain, lumber, fur, and wax trade of the area. Thus the German monopoly was broken.

The appearance of the Dutch in eastern Europe was welcomed by the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Livonians, and the Russians. Thanks to their competition with the Hansa, the supply of manufactured goods increased considerably while prices went down. On the other hand, the rivalry created a typical sellers' market. Consequently, the Dutch penetration contributed to a growth of prosperity and to the economic progress of the area.

In view of this, all efforts of the German merchants and their satellites to oust the Dutch from the Baltic region failed. In addition, Sweden and Denmark united their forces with Holland in order to upset the Hanseatic supremacy. The

political integration of Poland and Lithuania and the emergence of Muscovy, together with the weakening of the two Teutonic militant orders, the Order of the Cross and the Order of the Swordbearers, both firm supporters of the Hansa, further undermined its position in the Baltic. During the second half of the fifteenth century the commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania made its successful attempt at establishing a foothold in Danzig and Elbing, achieved by the treaty of Toruń (1466). As the author rightly points out, this process of consolidation of the Baltic position of Poland-Lithuania had largely been facilitated by the commercial infiltration of the Dutch, and by their weakening of the Germanic Hansa.

But neither the triumph of Poland-Lithuania nor that of Holland was complete. Although the merchants of Danzig, Königsberg, or Riga were rather glad to see the Dutch traders in their harbors, they did their best to prevent them from penetrating the hinterland. Hence, the second half of the sixteenth century (and the following two centuries) witnessed a sharp conflict between these commercial centers and the nobility of Poland-Lithuania and Livonia, the main suppliers of grain and timber, flax and wax, who were vitally interested in direct contacts with the foreign importers.

Małowist's interesting work is marred by excessive use of Marxist verbiage and frequent references to the works of Stalin as a scholarly authority of paramount importance.

Boston College

M. K. DZIEWANOWSKI

THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA. By *Henryk Paszkiewicz*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. xii, 556. \$10.00.)

ATTEMPTING a radical revision of the Russian Primary Chronicle, the historian decided to examine its vocabulary and phraseology and "to establish a code which would enable us to decipher the obscure passages"; but his disdain for the work performed by generations of philologists, along with a cavalier attitude toward linguistic material, claimed to be "by its very nature largely hypothetical," led to disastrous blunders. He stops at neither homespun etymologies nor at the phonetically ludicrous derivation of the Finnish *Ruotsi* from the Slavic *Rus'*, which he affiliates with the adjective *rusyi*, although this ancient pun-like conjecture has been definitively denounced as "absolutely inadmissible and groundless" by A. Stender-Petersen (*Varangica*, 1953). Paszkiewicz should consult this fundamental book and be more discriminating in his references, which include negligible writings and overlook many important works. His acquaintance with medieval Slavic tongues is meager: the translation of Old Russian words and sentences is altogether inept, sometimes grotesque. Old Russian *jazyk* and the corresponding forms in other Slavic countries designated "tongue," "language," "speech community," "people"; Russian followed Old Church Slavonic in rendering *ethnos* by *jazyk* and *ethnikos*, "heathen," by the loan translation *jazych'nik*. This deluded

Paszkiewicz into thinking that *jazyk* meant "faith" and *rus'skyi jazyk* "the faith of Rus'." According to him, the name *Rus'* and *Rus'skaja Zemlja*, "the land of Rus'," in its narrow sense designated only "Kiev with the adjacent territories," but when it is used in the texts to cover a wider area, Paszkiewicz charges this term with a strictly religious meaning, namely "all the followers of the Greek Church in eastern Europe, Slavonic and non-Slavonic" and their domain. The efforts to corroborate these inventions by quotations from chronicles are a mockery of all philological method and of common sense generally. On such shaky foundations the author bases his denial of any vaster ethnic, linguistic, or political unit in the East Slavic area. The demands for the unity of the "Russian land" in the princely assemblies of 1097, etc., suffice to contradict Paszkiewicz' bias. Equally far-fetched is the penchant for belittling the ethnic and administrative extent of the Eastern Slavs. There are in the Slavic world few ethnographic and linguistic boundaries as clear-cut and enduring as the frontier between Eastern Slavs and Poles. The attempt to uncover a Lekhitic substratum in some East Slavic regions was so convincingly refuted by Polish linguists that any relapse into this obsolete hypothesis is futile.

Paszkiewicz is right in challenging the primitive anti-Normanism of Soviet historians, but he matches their "national self-congratulation" with his own no less naïve "neighbor deprecation." He underestimates one of the most intensive outbursts of early Slavic culture, the Kievan Russia chapter, and is ready to denationalize even one of the most representative and original Slavic writers of the eleventh century: "Hilarion who lives and writes during the time of the fullest flowering of the Norse period could only be a Norseman." The urge of Russian princes in the late twelfth century to transfer their metropolis to Suzdal' is fancifully interpreted as the flight of "anti-Slavonic" Norsemen to Finns from "the danger of becoming completely Slavicized" in the Kievan region. To cite at least a few of the arbitrary constructions of the author, eloquently contradicted both by documents and linguistic geography: in the fourteenth century the frontiers of Lithuania "were identical, roughly speaking, with the limits of East Slavonic settlements"; the Eastern Slavs "were ethnically entirely distinct" from the Grand Duchy of Moscow that was either "purely Finnish" or "Norse, as it used a language related to English and German"; the Finns gradually adopted the Slavonic language of the church and administration.

The vast appendixes deal chiefly—and most superficially—with East Slavic tribes and regions. Paszkiewicz' sally into literary history is on a level with his philological exploits: a comparison of the *Igor' Tale* with other monuments of Kievan Rus' would show an identical conception both of the "Russian land" and of the Kuman wars. Paszkiewicz, who insists on Norse-Russian ties, should not be puzzled by the interweaving of Christian and pagan motifs shared by the *Tale* with Scaldic poetry of the late twelfth century. Only when the author confines himself to Polish questions does fantasy yield to scholarship: his appendix on the "Slavonic Rite" in Poland presents some instructive data but would gain had he

used the rich literature on the adjacent Czech problems without which the interpretation of Polish facts remains scrappy.

Harvard University

ROMAN JAKOBSON

HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D.: TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC ANNALS OF ABU L-MAḤASIN IBN TAGHRÎ BIRDÎ. By *William Popper*. Part I, 1382-1399 A.D. Part II, 1399-1411 A.D. [University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Volumes XIII, XIV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xxiii, 206; x, 220. \$2.50 each.)

HISTORIOGRAPHY was flourishing under the Mamelukes in Egypt, but few of the numerous Mameluke histories have been translated into a Western language. Here we have for the first time an English translation of substantial portions of such a work. Its author, Ibn Taghrî Birdî (1409/10-1470), dealt with the history of Muslim Egypt from the Conquest up to his own time. For the first seven and a half centuries he does not tell us much that cannot be found in other sources. The story is different when it comes to the remaining eighty-eight years, which are the subject of this translation. As the son of a high Egyptian official, Ibn Taghrî Birdî had excellent connections in political circles, and he had the opportunity of observing many of the important events and personalities in Egypt. His work, therefore, cannot help being an extremely important historical source.

Strictly speaking, this *History* is a piece of biographical writing. It consists of biographies of the rulers of Egypt, beginning in each case with the first year of their reigns. After the end of each reign, there follow brief biographies, in the form of obituary notices, of military figures and "scholars" (that is, officials of the civilian administration and the judiciary, with a sprinkling of men famous for their piety) who died during that reign. The biography of the ruler is told chronologically in day-by-day accounts, with the kind of objectivity we associate with first-class journalism. In fact, the author is fully convinced he is presenting an absolutely objective report full of good hard facts and nothing else. Needless to say, he is greatly involved in contemporary politics by virtue of his upbringing and position, and he selects his material as he sees fit. On the whole, however, his claim to objectivity is not unjustified. His view of history predisposes him against value judgments (cf. II, 198: "The times improve or deteriorate because of their sultan and officials; but the evil is both ancient and modern"), as it does against seeking cause and effect in events and unity in an individual's personality (cf. I, 45: "The absolute truth regarding him [Barqûq] is that he, as is customary of kings and rulers, had both his virtues and his faults, and exaggeration is out of place"). As a result, the author, with all his learning and intelligence, fell short of presenting what we at least would consider a valid historical synthesis.

Nothing but praise is due for the translator, W. Popper, octogenarian professor emeritus of Semitics at the University of California. The quality of his translation

is vouchsafed by the fact that he has devoted nearly half a century to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's work, first as editor and now as translator. Without any footnotes and commentary to speak of (Popper promises us separate volumes of comments and studies), the translation is clear throughout. The complicated titles of civilian and military officials are translated as skillfully as possible. Readers unfamiliar with Arabic will want explanations only in a few rare cases. Altogether, the translation is above ordinary standards. With its speedy conclusion, Popper will have rendered another outstanding service to historical scholarship.

University of Pennsylvania

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

Modern European History

FUNDAMENTAL LAW IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By
J. W. Gough, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University
Press. 1955. Pp. x, 229. \$4.00.)

ONE of the things historians of the past, and even of the present, should always do, but unfortunately frequently fail to do, is to keep constantly in mind not only what the makers of their history were actually doing but also what they thought they were doing. The two are equally important but often strikingly different. This is particularly true of times of rapid change, and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the scene of such change. Contemporaries were usually oblivious of it, and modern historians of the period have too often failed to make sufficiently clear the great difference between what the leaders of the time were actually doing and what they believed they were doing. A notable exception is this admirable volume of Mr. Gough's. He recognizes fully the undoubted fact that in England actual legislation had been occurring for centuries before the seventeenth, but he also proves conclusively by innumerable instances that contemporaries for the most part continued habitually to think of the English parliament as primarily a court and its decisions as the judgments of a court, until the shock of civil war made it clear to many observers that it was a true sovereign legislature of the modern type and had really been such for a long time in the past.

Probably the most important part of his book is the discussion of the fundamentals "of three hundred years ago," and it is undoubtedly the most controversial part, but he has also given a survey of the whole subject of fundamental law from the Middle Ages to "the last of fundamental law" in England, with innumerable extracts from contemporary writers and a full discussion of the varying interpretations of these in modern books and periodicals, American as well as English.

It is in his discussion of the latter for the reigns of James I and Charles I that Mr. Gough is forced to differ most markedly from some other modern writers. He disagrees, and with good reason, with those—among them this reviewer—who

have taken too literally the frequent statements of Coke and many other judges and lawyers of the time that certain enactments of parliament were "void"; for "void," as he rightly contends, did not mean for them voidable by any court other than the high court of parliament itself. "When he [Coke] spoke of adjudging an act to be void, he did not mean that the court could declare it to have been beyond the power of parliament to enact. . . ." "To Coke parliament had the last word not because of its legislative sovereignty, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged, but because as the highest court there was no appeal against its supreme authority."

But in so saying, Mr. Gough also opposes no less strongly, and with equal justification, "the lawyer's bias," which would dismiss such statements of Sir Edward Coke as "confident opinions," "oracular and dogmatic utterances," or "loose talk." To the author—and in this he seems to have been largely influenced by Professor Thorne's searching analysis of Dr. Bonham's case—Coke's statements are not only entirely consistent but a perfectly logical result of the prevailing conception of parliament as primarily a court.

There is only one point of any great importance on which it seems necessary to question the soundness of the author's conclusions, namely, his definition of judicial review, and his view of its history resulting from this definition. He defines it as mere "nullification" and nothing more, and from this concludes logically enough that it is American in origin, and "finds no place in the British constitution," that it "is not and never has been a part of English law."

It is true of course that "nullification" has never been "a part of English law," equally true that this "nullification" is the chief point of dissimilarity in England's present practice and our own; but the logical inference from this would seem to be that the only important difference between England and America in such matters is the existence in America of a written constitution. If we are unable to accept the author's narrow definition of judicial review as mere nullification, and agree with Lord Bryce that in the American conception of law "there is nothing strange or mysterious," then I think we must also conclude that the American doctrine of judicial review is after all little more than a new application of the Englishman's traditional way of looking at all law. For the greatest difference in these matters is not between England and America but between a procedure common to both and the procedure of those countries of continental Europe having written constitutions or fundamental laws, the enforcement or interpretation of which is seldom entrusted to the ordinary courts of law at all.

This is unquestionably a very important book and one that should be in the hands of every serious student of the growth of our political institutions and ideas, whether these be American or English in their origin.

Harvard University

C. H. McILWAIN

ROBERT ESTIENNE, ROYAL PRINTER: AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE ELDER STEPHANUS. By *Elizabeth Armstrong*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 310. \$10.00.)

THIS graceful and scholarly volume makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the mechanics of scholarship and the role of the printing press in disseminating the fruits of learning during the heroic period of the French Renaissance. Taking as her subject the professional career and scholarly achievements of Robert Estienne, outstanding member of an important dynasty of publishers, Mrs. Armstrong has produced a volume which is notable both for its extensive research and the caution with which she treats the more controversial implications of her findings. Although the work is limited to Estienne's career as printer-bookseller and his position in contemporary intellectual currents, these topics are treated with considerable breadth and provide the reader with a highly significant example of scholarship and commercial enterprise in combination during the fateful generation immediately prior to the Wars of Religion. The author's research has embraced all major relevant collections, including those of manuscript materials, and extensive documentation is reproduced in untranslated form in the appendixes. The work may thus be regarded as definitive within the limits intended by the author.

The initial chapters are devoted to the origins of the Estienne press and stress the close associations of its founders with advanced French humanism. Considerable space is then given to Robert Estienne's printing business, copious statistics concerning his many editions throwing considerable light upon the vital role of printing in enriching Renaissance learning. Attention is given to the relations between Estienne and many humanists of the period, including Budé; and Estienne's most important contributions to scholarship, his Latin Bible and his *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, are studied in their general nature and import. With his appointment as King's Printer in 1539, Estienne's publishing activities were expanded to include editions in Hebrew and Greek, very notable work being done in the latter medium. Certainly one of the most interesting sections of the book is that which deals with censorship, as practiced by the Faculty of Theology with support from the Parlement of Paris and the Privy Council. Since the struggle concerning the publication and sale of Estienne's Latin Bibles represented a test case relative to freedom of inquiry during this tense period, Mrs. Armstrong has studied with great care the developments which led Henry II to approve total suppression of these volumes rather than their mere expurgation. This triumph of the forces of conservatism ultimately forced Estienne to seek refuge in Geneva, where he passed the final years of his life, pursuing his publishing business and, characteristically, engaged in another censorship controversy with the local authorities. Regarding Estienne's religious faith, Mrs. Armstrong holds that, while in Paris, he never felt his beliefs to be incompatible with those of the Roman Church, even in the midst of his quarrels with the Faculty of Theology. It was only the

intransigence of the latter, combined with the attractions of the religious simplicity of Geneva, which caused Estienne finally to embrace Calvinism. Thus, the volume not only treats the major aspects of Robert Estienne's career but also provides many insights into the intellectual life of the period. It should be of especial value to students of intellectual history and of the French Renaissance generally. Finally, considerable credit for this handsome volume should be given to the Cambridge University Press, since it is copiously illustrated and was published in the grand manner, as were so many volumes from the house of Estienne.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATION IN ENGLAND, 1604-1690. By *Millicent Barton Rex*. Preface by *Robert Livingston Schuyler*. [Études présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des Assemblées d'états, Volume XV.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1954. Pp. 408. \$7.50.)

IN her study of the political phenomenon of university representation in its first century, and the effects of the presence of university members in the Commons, Miss Rex provides a valuable addition to the growing body of material on the history of parliament. After considering the reasons for the establishment of such representation in 1604, and the election procedures which the new constituencies devised, she traces the developments through the changing politics of revolutionary times. Pressures at elections, brought by patrons royal and otherwise, and summaries of the members' roles afterwards in parliament are reported. For each of three major periods there follows a chapter of generalizations about the kinds of members and the significance, if any, which university representation had at that stage.

Miss Rex has been careful to identify the fifty-six university members—a good many are in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—and her useful Appendix VIII will aid the reader who experiences difficulty in pursuing a particular man through a maze of detail. Full-length portraits seldom appear, but there are some excellent accounts of parliament men in action, notably Secretary Coke serving his royal master in 1628, John Selden at work in the Long Parliament, and Sir Isaac Newton in that of 1689. Selden, combining scholarship with activity in public affairs, stands out as possibly “the ideal university member of his century,” and Newton emerges not only as a “gremial” loyal to his university but as a scientist seriously concerned with politics.

One might question the decision to include the Short Parliament, chiefly because of Secretary Windebank's Oxford election, within the “period of royal influence.” One might question also whether the election procedures were quite so exceptional as they seem, since local custom produced numerous variations in the choosing of “burgesses” in this century. Certainly the “compromise” of accepting a nominated candidate to serve with one more familiar with his constituency's

affairs occurred frequently in boroughs subject to patronage. The universities' stronger resisting of controlled elections may be, however, as Miss Rex feels, their chief distinction.

Various manuscript collections, particularly those of the universities, have been used, and the printed materials of the period have been combed successfully. John Chamberlain's published letters have been omitted (p. 376), but the bibliography reveals a wide range of sources. Out of masses of details the characteristics of university representation clearly emerge.

Hood College

MARY FREAR KEELER

LIBERTY AND REFORMATION IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By *William Haller*, Professor of English Emeritus in Barnard College, Columbia University, Fellow of the Folger Shakespeare Library. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 410. \$6.00.)

IN 1938 Dr. Haller published *The Rise of Puritanism* (*AHR*, XLV [October, 1939], 123-25), a memorable account of this movement which extended from the Elizabethan settlement to the early days of the Long Parliament. The present book is a brilliant continuation of the earlier work and carries the development of Puritanism to 1649. The author does not repeat the well-known story of the conflict between Charles I and parliament and between the Church of England and Puritanism. "But," as he says, "against the background of these events, my purpose is to present the history of the discussion which ensued when in November, 1640, all restraint on pulpit and press came suddenly to an end and preachers found themselves free . . . to expound the Word in confident expectation that the long-awaited reformation of the English church was at last to be accomplished . . ." (p. xii). Quoting and paraphrasing from hundreds of sermons, tracts, and books, Dr. Haller presents the effects of liberty on the emotions and intellect of Englishmen during the crucial fifth decade of the seventeenth century. From the written and spoken words of Stephen Marshall, John Milton, John Goodwin, John Lilburne, and a host of others, the author carries the struggle for liberty and reformation to the end of the decade when John Owen and Milton again began to defend Independency, which was tasting the first fruits of power and freedom.

In brief, Dr. Haller's story, hanging on a thin thread of political history, begins with the opening months of the Long Parliament when the Puritan ministers had won the struggle against the bishops to preach from their pulpits the Word of God with complete freedom. With freedom to preach followed by freedom of the press it was only natural that freedom of men to rule themselves was soon being advocated. Civil war was inevitable when Charles I remained deaf to the appeal of these freedoms.

After parliament had summoned the Westminster Assembly of Divines it was found that liberty meant one thing to the Presbyterian majority of the Assembly

and quite another to the Independent minority headed by Thomas Goodwin. A free Presbyterian church could not permit each congregation to be free. Consequently a new struggle for liberty against the predestined few of Presbyterianism arose. As Oliver Cromwell gained ascendancy and won military victories the Presbyterian ministers grew dejected. At the same time Independency began to dominate the army. Though parliament authorized the establishment of Presbyterianism throughout the land, it could not be enforced. Sects began to multiply as freedom spread. John Lilburne, with his sharp tongue and fear of no man, disseminated among the lower classes the doctrine of the indwelling Christ. But Lilburne did not stop there. Under his guidance, as well as that of William Walwyn and Richard Overton, freedom in religion spread to freedom in government. These leaders of the Leveller party first attacked parliament in seeking their absolute freedom. Then, when the army headed by Cromwell and Henry Ireton failed them, they appealed back to parliament again. To be sure, Cromwell and the Independents in and out of the army established their own type of freedom, first against the Presbyterians and finally against King Charles. But the Independents and the Levellers could not agree on liberty. Each had a different answer to the question as to how and by whom liberty was to be controlled. When Cromwell threw Lilburne into the Tower, that question was answered for the time at least.

With sound scholarship and deep understanding Dr. Haller follows this story by means of the words of contemporaries. To many a reader these words and thoughts of the Puritans will at times be confusing, for few of us are as steeped in the language and idiom of the period as is Dr. Haller. This is not so much a criticism as a warning. The book is hard reading, but the effort is most rewarding.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

THE LIFE OF DAVID HUME. By *Ernest Campbell Mossner*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xx, 683. \$7.50.)

NEW LETTERS OF DAVID HUME. Edited by *Raymond Klibansky* and *Ernest C. Mossner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxxiv, 253. \$4.80.)

THE biography of a man like Hume presents difficulties so great as to be practically insoluble. On the one hand is his philosophy, on the other is his life. Since Thomas Reid's *Inquiry* in 1764 every generation of technical philosophers has felt compelled to take some sort of stand toward Hume's analysis of cause and effect, and while they have pretty well agreed he was mistaken in believing that his *Treatise* afforded the only foundation on which the sciences "can stand with any security," they have never agreed about how to reconstruct it. Much the same might be said about his utilitarian ethics. For two centuries his philosophy has been in effect a contemporary influence. But for a philosopher Hume had also an extraordinarily rich and varied life. He was the author of the most widely read history of England before Macaulay and Green; he was an essayist whose opinions

on economics and politics challenge comparison with those of his friend Adam Smith; his religious skepticism made him a center of bitter controversy; and he had relations personal or literary with nearly all the important men of letters in both Great Britain and France. A biographer who involves himself in the technical problems set by British empiricism will never get to the man, and one who offers a full account of the man and his relationships in his own time will never be able to explain why philosophers still read Hume. Professor Mossner has been quite aware of this dilemma and has given his own rule for solving it: he will "present enough of the thinking of his subject to be able to interpret his actions without, at the same time, going so far as to overburden the narrative with *systematic* exposition" (p. ix). This is perhaps as good a rule as any but in effect it gives up the problem as insoluble. For it limits Hume's philosophy to what he *thought* he was doing, and an important philosopher is, almost by definition, a man whose ideas go on after he has quit thinking.

As would perhaps have been anticipated from his earlier volume, *The Forgotten Hume* (1943), Professor Mossner's *Life* is a contribution less to Hume's philosophy than to an understanding of his place as a man of letters: his friendships, his leadership of the brilliant intellectual society of Edinburgh, the depreciation of him by the corresponding society of London, his literary and philosophical associations in Paris, the controversies in which he was an unwilling and for the most part a silent participant; in short, to an understanding of the intense but in some respects the limited intellectual life of the Enlightenment. This aspect of Hume's career the book covers fully and admirably. Professor Mossner has made an apparently exhaustive examination of the known sources published and unpublished, and he has brought to light many that before him were not known. Failing the discovery of new material that cannot now be anticipated, it is unlikely that a future biographer will have much in the way of facts that Professor Mossner has not reported. Where a paucity of material has forced him to conjecture, as happens especially in respect to Hume's early life, he has speculated judiciously, and he has scrupulously made clear where evidence stops and inference begins. Wherever possible he has allowed his characters to speak for themselves, by quoting from letters and other documents. Of special interest are the careful accounts of the Scottish Enlightenment and its affinities with France rather than with England, the friendships that Hume was able to maintain with the liberal clergy, his lionization in the *salons* of Paris, and his relations with the *philosophes*. There is a sympathetic chapter on the unhappy quarrel with Rousseau. On all these matters a general reader will find an account as circumstantial as he is likely to need, and a scholar will find ample documentation for further study. The volume is a handsome specimen of bookmaking which does honor to the press of the University of Texas.

Because of the eminence and the number of Hume's correspondents his letters have a great interest. The standard edition was published in 1932 by J. Y. T. Greig. The volume now edited by Professors Mossner and Klibansky is a supple-

ment to Greig's collection. It includes ninety-eight letters not known to Greig and twenty-seven that the earlier editor knew only in part and at second hand. Only two that Greig printed in full are reproduced. Fifty others that he took from printed sources have been examined in the originals, though the differences found did not warrant reprinting them. The *New Letters*, therefore, with Greig's edition, give a practically complete and accurate version of Hume's correspondence as now known, though the editors mention references to more than a hundred other letters that he wrote, some of which may still come to light. The additions supplement rather than change what has hitherto been known about Hume. Perhaps the most interesting items are two letters, in French translation, that first reported to d'Alembert the circumstances of the quarrel with Rousseau, which had previously been known to Hume's friends in Paris only by rumor, and several documents derived from his service as *chargé d'affaires* in Paris and as undersecretary of state that throw some light on Hume's capacity as a diplomat.

Cornell University

GEORGE H. SABINE

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited by *W. S. Lewis*. Volumes XVII, XVIII, XIX. HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR HORACE MANN. Edited by *W. S. Lewis*, *Warren Hunting Smith*, and *George L. Lam*. Volumes I-III. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1954. Pp. lxxvii, 506; vii, 567; viii, 511. \$30.00 per set.)

THESE first three volumes of Walpole's correspondence with his distant cousin Horace Mann, British diplomat in Florence, cover roughly the period of the War of the Austrian Succession. Later volumes will carry the correspondence to its close on the death of Mann in 1786, still at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany. Walpole's letters have gone through several earlier editions, but Mann's are here presented in full for the first time. This edition, therefore, is notable for its completeness.

Walpole's correspondence with Mann is distinguished not only for its coverage in years but for its regularity and for its subject matter. These friends exchanged a total of over seventeen hundred letters, filled with details of their respective lives and common interests. Their political and professional concerns give to the correspondence its special and unique character. Mann was eager to learn of political events at home, especially of ministerial changes which he always feared might mean his recall. Walpole was able to keep him informed on such subjects and also, in the letters just published, gave him a variety of other important news related to the course of the war. The Rising of Forty-Five was the occasion for anxious communications.

Mann's own letters reveal the varied nature of the eighteenth-century diplomat's tasks. From his post in Italy, for example, he was responsible for warning the ministry of all the movements of the Pretender and his family. Among his

duties, too, was that of acting as adviser to the British fleet in the Mediterranean. But much of his time was consumed in entertaining and being entertained.

Although Walpole and Mann never saw each other after Walpole left Florence in 1741, they maintained a personal friendship. They were, moreover, both men of the world. Their letters, therefore, contained much more than the basic subject of politics. While politics was the main course, it was served with the gossip of their respective social sets in London and Florence, with the latest *bon mot* or risqué story, with references to Walpole's growing art collection, including various Italian additions, to music and the theater. In Mann's letters there is news of English travelers in Italy, many of whom had received letters of introduction from Walpole. And from Mann's experiences one learns much of contemporary Florentine customs, which Walpole enjoyed. He claimed he "was never so happy but at Florence."

As in earlier volumes the footnotes are both informative and entertaining. In spite of great respect for the way in which the editors have handled their vast problems, the reviewer, nevertheless, suggests a slight flaw. There are occasional subjects so complex that an oversimplified note is actually misleading. Such appears to be the case, for example, with the note on the contract for sending money to Jamaica (I, 411, n. 12). In such cases a mere reference to the proper sources of information might be more satisfactory than an attempted explanation.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES: THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER
WITHIN THE CONSERVATIVE AND LABOUR PARTIES. By R. T.
McKenzie. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 623. \$7.50.)

THIS book has been warmly received in Great Britain. Mr. McKenzie well deserves the praise of his colleagues and the gratitude of all students of British political affairs: for one the study is an ever-present help on a thousand and one points that can trouble and mystify; for the other it is a boon in its sweeping, yet significantly detailed, treatment of the development and organization of the modern Conservative and Labour parties.

Utilizing to the full his access to party records and political practitioners and assaying much of his material in a postgraduate seminar—which the reviewer has visited—Mr. McKenzie has written a clear and coherent account of the motivating forces of the two parties, of the organizational basis through which they have expressed their purposes, of the nature of power within each, and of the persons in whom that power has resided. Such a treatment offers much to the political scientist interested in the institutional aspects of political phenomena; to the historian interested in the development of the modes of party activities; and to the student and critic of all disciplines interested in the residence and expression of leadership and power in contemporary society.

Mr. McKenzie sees little institutional difference between the two parties. This is likely to cause more consternation in Smith Square than Victoria Street, for Transport House has long attempted to capitalize upon the outwardly democratic structure of the Labour party. In fact the organizational forms are much alike since the two parties function for the same purposes and in the same environment. The key to the operation of the parties is to be found in the powers and position of the leader. When the leader's party is in office or in power, he is the prime minister; when his party is out of office, he is the potential prime minister. In either situation he has the political prospects of his followers in his own hands. From this central fact, basic in the constitutional position of the parties, stems much of the activities and organizational relationships of the parties both inside and outside the House.

In the process of fulfilling his task the author has thrown light into many murky corners and has added information and insight in his treatment of the turns in party fortune. To have brought so much information to bear upon this subject is in itself a feat; to have done so with such clarity and conviction is a triumph.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

THE AGE OF IDEAS: FROM REACTION TO REVOLUTION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *George R. Havens*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1955. Pp. x, 474. \$6.00.)

VINCENT BERNARD DE TSCHARNER, 1728-1778: A STUDY OF SWISS CULTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Enid Stoye*. (Fribourg, Switz.: Imprimerie St-Paul. 1954. Pp. 262. 25s.)

THESE two works—the first a major one—are successful examples of using the biographical approach as a key to the understanding of history. Regarding Tscharnier, Dr. Stoye remarks that his life is “an invaluable focal point for the understanding of certain aspects of eighteenth-century Swiss culture”; and Professor Havens, after remarking that “The eighteenth century in France was above all notable for its literature of ideas,” goes on to say, “This book proposes to tell the story of these ideas in terms of the varied and colorful men who gave them expression.”

The author of *The Age of Ideas* has, as editor, bibliographer, and author, already had a distinguished career in eighteenth-century studies. In this present volume he treats of Bayle, Fénelon, Fontenelle, and Beaumarchais in single chapters and allots to the four giants of the eighteenth century—Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot—four chapters each. In addition, there are three chapters which provide the chronological connective tissue for events in French history between 1685 and 1789. The book, besides, is embellished by twenty-eight pages of interesting and unhackneyed illustrations.

The unifying conception of the volume lies in the contrast set forth between the absolutism of the French monarchy and the liberalism of the writers challenging it. It is little exaggeration to say that the hero of the book is Tolerance, its villain Inefficient and Tyrannical Government. Implicit in this presentation is a clear-cut answer to the question which the Sphinx asks of historians: What caused the French Revolution? The trend of Professor Havens' argument implies that the writers of the Enlightenment did. Yet, warned by Mornet's conclusions, he draws off, and contents himself, in the end, by saying that "the actual shape of the major reforms demanded in 1789 appears already . . . in the program advanced by the eloquent leaders of French thought."

Professor Havens is particularly judicious in his choice of quotation, and is very helpful as a guide in aiding one to read eighteenth-century authors, as they must be read because of the censorship, between the lines. His chapters have a freshness that comes from his being abreast of the latest research, seen particularly in the chapters on Diderot, regarding whom so much investigation is now being done. Both the general reader and the specialist, therefore, will profit from this book. It is, moreover, an extremely useful volume for students.

By concentrating on the great names, the author has had to omit others. Little or no attention is given, for example, to the ideas of Buffon or Condillac or La Mettrie or Maupertuis or Helvétius or D'Holbach. Nor does the author discuss, as did Cassirer, the psychological and philosophical doctrines of the *philosophes*; or the implications of a lingering Cartesianism, such as was done by Vartanian in his *Diderot and Descartes*. Reference might well have been made to the availability of Beller and Lee's *Selections from Bayle's Dictionary* (Princeton, 1952). Moreover, Professor Havens gives his reader little intimation, save in his remarks regarding Turgot, of the liveliness of interest in agricultural and economic questions that developed in the latter half of the century, nor how this interest inevitably and quickly trenched upon politics. However, all this is not intended to suggest that *The Age of Ideas* is not an enjoyable or a valuable book, written with both force and grace. No one can more persuasively than Professor Havens make one want to read Fontenelle, nor more adequately sum up "Montesquieu in America," nor remind us more compellingly that the problems these various eighteenth-century writers posed "are still the subtle, difficult, human problems of the present troubled day." And his account of Diderot is the most accurate and judicious and up-to-date to be found anywhere.

It is noteworthy that Tschärner, writing to a friend in 1761 (p. 127), spoke of the despotism and bad public administration in France, thus bearing out one of Professor Havens' major assumptions. The point of view of this liberal Bernese patrician seems, oddly enough, not to have been greatly tintured by the French thought of the period—not, at least, to judge from Dr. Stoye's richly documented book—but more by English ideas and by Tschärner's connections with Bodmer and Albrecht von Haller. Tschärner was an active man who worked hard to avoid being stifled by the complacent provincialism of Berne so that he became a

skillful translator of German works into French, a very competent historian, a publisher, and an enthusiastic participant in the international movement for improving agricultural methods and attempting to discover the sources of the wealth of nations. His rather brief life was a full one, making his biography of interest not only to students of Swiss history and historiography but also to students of comparative literature and the history of ideas. Dr. Stoye is to be complimented upon her attractive and carefully wrought monograph.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 2^e Série, 1901-1911, tome XII (9 FÉVRIER 1909-26 OCTOBRE 1910). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1954. Pp. xlvii, 1000.)

THESE documents cover the twenty-two months following the Franco-German agreement of February 9, 1909. The three subjects most fully dealt with are the everlasting Moroccan complications, the aftermath of the Bosnian Crisis, and the frantic but unsuccessful Cretan agitation for annexation to Greece. French interest in many other subjects—Balkan problems, Neo-Slavism, railroads, armaments, personalities—is also illustrated, but by comparatively few documents. No important change took place in the existing system of alliances, except the Russo-Italian Raccorigi treaty, the substance of which Izvolski characteristically concealed from his French ally.

The Franco-German agreement of February 9, 1909, for a sharing of interests in Morocco worked very harmoniously for just a year, with many cordial statements from both sides of the Rhine. But then it gradually broke down. There were many reasons for its breakdown: chauvinism and commercial greed on both sides; chaotic conditions in Morocco under the irresponsible, alcoholic sultan Mulay Hafid; consequent extension of French military occupation which aroused German suspicions; the Mannesmann claims and intrigues; and the French N'Goko Sangha exploitation company. Most interesting are the full details of the way this N'Goko Sangha company, in which Tardieu was interested, tried to fleece the French government and then entered into a consortium with Germans which led more to friction between Paris and Berlin than to any actual development of its Congo concessions. So the sunny skies of 1909 gradually changed into a brewing storm that broke at Agadir in 1911. Morocco was also a cause of great friction between Spain and France. Spain, with important claims in North Africa, was not fully notified of the Franco-German 1909 agreement, resented not being treated as an equal, and got involved in a costly war with the Riffians and serious antimilitarist riots at Barcelona.

In the aftermath of the Bosnian Crisis French diplomats were inclined to accept Izvolski's version of the Buchlau meeting and Germany's "ultimatum,"

but were bored, like everyone else, by his constantly reiterated complaints about Aehrenthal's past perfidy and suspected future aggressions in the Balkans. Pichon flatly told Izvolski (p. 386) that his Bosnian discomfiture might never have taken place if Izvolski had early and frankly told the French government of his secret bargaining with Aehrenthal at Buchlau. But Pichon was careful not to let re-criminations undermine the Franco-Russian alliance.

In Crete excited Greek nationalists proclaimed their annexation to Greece, hoisted the Greek flag, and tried to elect deputies to the Greek assembly in Athens. This bellicose behavior and rejection of Young Turk sovereignty over the island threatened a new Turco-Greek war. The German kaiser, sympathizing with Greece but wishing not to offend Turkey, stood aloof. So did Austria. France, however, co-operated actively with Russia, Britain, and Italy to preserve the status quo and the regime set up by the Great Powers. Their prestige and the presence of their naval vessels in Cretan waters sufficed to keep the lid on in Crete and avert serious international complications.

The work of the editors, as usual, is excellent, and all the more praiseworthy in view of the difficulties caused by the destruction or loss of much Quai D'Orsay archive material during World War II.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

VICHY: POLITICAL DILEMMA. By *Paul Farmer*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 376. \$5.50.)

THE heart of Mr. Farmer's book is his analysis of the nature of the Vichy state, of the activities of the opposing factions, of the political and social reforms and their essentially abortive course, and of the relationship of Vichy to what preceded and what followed. In this final connection, he helpfully emphasizes the extraordinary persistence of the traditions of the Third Republic into the Vichy period, and, as we have been more aware, into the post-Liberation years. The author has rather detailed sections on the way in which Vichy emerged and on the course of its first two years; but the period of Laval's domination receives only minor treatment. In all this there is much that is thoughtful and arresting. But the book has, in this reviewer's opinion, important shortcomings.

This is a highly controversial area of research. Yet the author offers only a very occasional footnote. How are we to tell, short of retracing all his steps, how he has reached his conclusions? If, by chance, the elimination of footnotes reflects the rise of publishing costs, it is only one further unhappy evidence of the baneful impact of inflation on scholarship. Nor does he give us any indication in the preface of having consulted key individuals in a field where oral evidence is of capital importance.

The author's final chapter, "Retrospect," seems confused at various points. It never really becomes clear what his conclusions about Vichy are. He begins, for instance, by analyzing what the regime itself may have accomplished and then

slips away at once into the discussion of a very different problem—what the *military victory* of the Germans gained them in France. Here the almost casually deprecatory statement—“So their [the Germans’] advantage came down to such matters as . . . the use of French naval bases on the Atlantic coast for the support of their submarine warfare, and the right to maintain garrisons and fortifications in France for defence against an Allied invasion of the Continent” (p. 338)—may come as something of a shock to those American lads who served in convoys in the North Atlantic or who found themselves part of the noisy chaos of Omaha Beach on a spring day in 1944.

In various places Mr. Farmer fails to pose his problem “in the round” and to allow us to see all sides of it. In connection with the possibility that the French might have gone to North Africa (pp. 93 ff.), he sees only the difficulties and neglects, *inter alia*, the advantages which, for instance, the Norwegians gained from making the contrary decision to establish at once a government in exile—legal continuity, national solidarity, precocious inception of the resistance movement, minimization of the odium of defeat, highly important participation in the Allied effort for eventual victory, etc. In connection with the Munich crisis (p. 66), he poses the question “. . . are we sure that France would have fared better if she had made her stand with Czechoslovakia in 1938 rather than with Poland in 1939?” Again he neglects the very affirmative answer of so knowledgeable an authority as Winston Churchill, buttressed by such factors as our information on the relative strength of the German army as compared to that of the Czechs plus the French at this juncture.

There are some specific errors of fact. The statement that the French urban worker had “no less protection in the form of trade unionism” in the post-1918 period than his German or British comrade (p. 24) scarcely reflects the notorious weakness of the French labor movement, nowhere more strikingly portrayed than in the excellent recent book by Val Lorwin. That France has “fair deposits of . . . iron ore” (p. 22) hardly does justice to the Lorraine field, with iron ore reserves estimated to exceed those of the whole of the rest of non-Russian Europe. The central point about tanks at the beginning of World War II (p. 84) is that the French used them almost exclusively as adjuncts of infantry divisions instead of in independent units as functional elements in the Blitzkrieg tactic, as did the Germans.

Harvard University

DONALD C. MCKAY

STAATSKUNST UND KRIEGSHANDWERK: DAS PROBLEM DES “MILITARISMUS” IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Gerhard Ritter*. Erster Band: DIE ALTPREUSSISCHE TRADITION (1740–1890). (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1954. Pp. 403.)

THE studies upon which this book is based were begun during the Second World War in the hope, the author says, of explaining why it was that the “Ger-

man people, for centuries one of the western nations most disposed to peace, should have become the terror of Europe and the world, hailing as their leader an adventurer who will go down in history as the destroyer of the old European order." The answer to this question, Ritter believes, is to be found in the fact that the Germans succumbed to militarism, which he defines as the ascendancy and adulation of the military to a point where the legitimate relationship between statesmanship and military force is destroyed. The rise of militarism in Germany in the nineteenth century and its victory in the twentieth is the central theme of this work, and, in this first volume, Ritter traces it from the age of Frederick the Great to the retirement of Bismarck.

To avoid misunderstanding, it should be added that, in doing this, he has not attempted to write another history of Germany in which every period is covered completely and in chronological order. On the contrary, after a brief discussion of Frederick's military and political ideas, of the nature of war in the last years of the eighteenth century, and of the revolution in warfare and military thought which came with Napoleon, the greater part of this book is devoted to a detailed analysis of three subjects: the struggle between the Prussian soldiers and the diplomats during the war of liberation; the Prussian constitutional conflict of the 1860's; and the relationship between Moltke and Bismarck during and after the wars of unification. These separate studies are connected by shorter and less circumstantial accounts of the transformation of the *Volksheer* of the Boyen period into the "royal guard" of Roon and William I, and of the reforms in military administration which led to the freeing of the Military Cabinet and the General Staff from the control of the War Ministry in 1883. The reader looking for a full-scale account of the crisis of 1819 or of the events of 1848 or of the origins of the war of 1866 will, therefore, be disappointed. This is said by way of explanation rather than criticism.

In the reviewer's opinion, this is the most important treatment of the problem of German militarism that has appeared since the end of the war and it makes most of its predecessors look superficial. This is due not only to the fact that the volume is based on the most rigorous exploitation of the sources but also to Ritter's success in relating his main theme to the political, social, and intellectual developments of the period he covers. Thus, while he has managed to give an impressive number of illustrations of the deepening conflict between the traditional objectives of statecraft and the requirements of war in the nineteenth century, he has demonstrated also that this conflict was made inevitable by such things as the increasing technical complexity of warfare (which made it more difficult for civilian statesmen to speak with authority in military matters), the constitutional arrangements which gave excessive freedom to military agencies, and the development of a new German nationalism which, from the time of the humiliation at Napoleon's hands, tended to emphasize the militant aspect of politics at the expense of the conciliatory arts of statesmanship.

This last point Ritter elaborates in a brilliant analysis of Clausewitz (part of

which first appeared in the Meinecke number of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1943), in a chapter on Gneisenau and Metternich, which is highly critical of the Prussian field marshal, and in the long essay on Moltke and Bismarck which occupies a full third of this volume. Ritter's view of Moltke is very similar to that presented by Rudolf Stadelmann's *Moltke und der Staat*: the chief of staff is revealed, first, as a man who, in defiance of Clausewitz's warning, sought to draw a boundary between politics and strategy in order to protect the strategist from political interference in wartime and, second, in his tendency to regard war as an inevitable concomitant of state life with its own dynamic and its own laws, as a representative of the new and frightening nationalist spirit. Bismarck, on the other hand, Ritter sees as belonging to an older political tradition of which Metternich was a conspicuous champion—essentially a man of order and, in military matters, a statesman who regarded war as an instrument of policy, to be used only when other methods promised to be ineffective, and even then with circumspection and under the limitations which the political situation required.

This, of course, is a view of Bismarck which will not be accepted by all students of this period; and Ritter's attempt to portray Bismarck's tactics *vis-à-vis* France in 1870 as strictly defensive is not entirely convincing. But his main point—that conflict between the chancellor and the chief of staff was unavoidable, given their different philosophies of politics and war—is well taken and is important, for the struggle between them—which Ritter submits to exhaustive analysis—had far-reaching consequences which will doubtless be treated in his second volume.

To the 330 pages of text in this volume, Ritter has appended 65 pages of notes, and these deserve the closest attention from scholars. In addition to amplifying certain points made in the narrative, they include important critical discussions of previous works in this field and of the state of scholarship on problems—like that of Bismarck's attitude toward the acquisition of Metz in 1870—which have long been the subject of historical controversy.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

HUMBOLDT: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, 1769–1859. By *Helmut de Terra*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xiii, 386, ix. \$5.75.)

Mr. de Terra's book on Alexander von Humboldt takes up a subject in historical literature that has been admittedly neglected. Humboldt, whom Emerson called one of the wonders of the world, who was a friend of Goethe and Metternich, of Jefferson and Simon Bolívar, whom Darwin and Dostoevsky admired, had never found a biographer worthy of his subject. The reason is not difficult to discover. Humboldt demands a biographer steeped in the history of science in addition to broad cultural backgrounds permitting his historian to view him in the proper perspective of German and European civilization.

We believe that Mr. de Terra meets these requirements. Of German extraction, he is a geologist and explorer like Humboldt himself. In his researches in Germany, Mexico, and Central Asia, he often met with the Humboldt tradition, and these many encounters led him to undertake a sketch of Humboldt's life from the contemporary viewpoint. This book does not pretend to be a full-scale biography; such a volume would involve a criticism of Humboldt's gigantic labor from the present level of our scientific knowledge. It is called *The Life and Times of Alexander von Humboldt* and draws with firm and experienced hand a profile of Humboldt during the ninety years of European and American history that he was privileged to see and to influence.

The author points to the singular psychological condition of Humboldt's genius—a distinctly homosexual leaning—that gave to his nature a haunting desire for fulfillment and a certain emotional restlessness which expressed itself in an unending intellectual curiosity. (It also made him the victim of the life-long tyranny and blackmail of his valet.) Perhaps it was this emotional instability which caused Humboldt to abandon his service to the Prussian mines and that led him eventually on his voyage to Latin America. The celebrated journey through the "equinoctial regions" was not a turning point in the life of Humboldt only; it became an epoch in the history of science.

On his return to Europe in 1804 Humboldt established himself in Paris where he remained until 1814. During this time his brother, Wilhelm, was the driving force of the Prussian cabinet in the war of liberation. In our time of overheated nationalism, it is refreshing to read that the Prussian king did not begrudge Alexander his Parisian residence, but heaped him with honors and contributed a most generous sum to his future research.

Mr. de Terra's book is full of interesting quotations from Humboldt's correspondence, which ran to an average of three thousand letters a year. The mathematician Gauss, the chemist Liebig, the historian Ranke, the inventor Morse exchanged comments and ideas with him. These names and many others give evidence of the wide range of Humboldt's mind and his genius for friendship. He held extremely liberal views, but, gifted as he was with the talents of the courtier and the diplomat, he survived the days of the reaction and became the trusted adviser of Frederic William IV in the field of cultural affairs. I think that Mr. de Terra has at times been over-cautious in the interpretation of his material. There is, for example, no reason to question Humboldt's profound influence on Bolívar in 1804. I am also of the opinion that more emphasis could have been laid on Humboldt's sociological observations in the description of his travels through Hispanic America; Humboldt's *The Kingdom of New Spain* is a mine of information and may still be read with great profit.

Mr. de Terra's bibliography is necessarily selective, but it seems an eccentricity to include essays of questionable value while omitting standard works. However, these are minor points in view of the many excellent qualities of the book. I can think of only a few works that give such a lively picture of "men and ideas"

during the first half of the past century. It should find its place on the bookshelves for required reading in our college courses on the nineteenth century.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

THE CATHOLICS AND GERMAN UNITY, 1866-1871. By 'George G. Windell. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 312. \$5.00.)

CURIOUSLY enough, it is Germany, so frequently accused of political backwardness and goosestepping, which has provided prototypes for the two kinds of democratic parties—the Socialist and the Catholic—that are now especially conspicuous and influential in France, Italy, the Benelux countries, Austria, and West Germany. Of the two, the Socialist has been studied and written about much more than the Catholic, and hence the present detailed study of the origins of political Catholicism in Germany is particularly welcome.

It is an excellent study, well organized, thoroughly documented, clearly written, and remarkably objective and dispassionate. Moreover, the University of Minnesota Press has given it an attractive format, with footnotes happily footing the pertinent pages.

The author brings out that, though German Catholics were generally shocked and grieved by the war of 1866 with its resulting destruction of the traditional *gross-deutsch* federal regime, they only hesitantly rallied to a distinctive political party and then in response less to the Bismarckian reorganization of Germany than to social and intellectual movements of the time. Indeed the small confessional "Center" group which had existed in the Prussian parliament since 1851 was disbanded in 1866, and leading Catholics united in Prussia with the newly formed Free Conservative party and in South Germany with the several patriot state-rights parties. Besides, Bismarck was notably conciliatory toward them and their church until he failed in 1868 to persuade Pius IX and the Roman Curia to intervene in German politics and oblige the South German Catholics to cease their opposition to union with Prussia.

By this time a variety of developments were providing Catholics with a base and reasons for common political action in Germany. One, an unexpected gift of Bismarck, was the democratic suffrage adopted for the North German parliament in 1867 and extended the following year to the parliament of the restored Zollverein which included South Germany. Another was the distinctively Catholic social gospel preached most effectively by Bishop von Ketteler of Mainz. A third was an earnest Catholic opposition to militarism. And there was concurrently a remarkable development of popular Catholic journalism. Yet the chief determinant, the study indicates, was a rising tide of nationalistic invective against Catholicism on the part of fanatical Protestants and of free-thinking secularists. This led to the "Moabit affair" of August, 1869, with its anti-Catholic rioting in Berlin, and in prompt response the Catholic Center party re-emerged and began

the not inglorious course which eventually would be steered by such statesmen as Windthorst, Hertling, Erzberger, Brüning, and Adenauer.

Afton, New York

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1905-1917: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT SCHISM. By *Carl E. Schorske*, Wesleyan University. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 358. \$5.50.)

By the election of 1912, the small, persecuted Social Democratic party of Bismarck's day had grown to be by far the largest political party in Germany, supported by more than a third of the voters. Yet, hard on the election, a mood of frustration settled on the party, and when war came in 1914 the party abandoned its traditional opposition to the government. During the war, the party was rent by factional strife culminating in the formation of the Independent Social Democratic party; after a brief period of leadership during the revolution of 1918, the majority Socialists lost ground and were soon faced by the militant Communist party, which claimed to be the real representative of the masses in the fight against capitalism.

This story has, in whole or in part, been studied exhaustively, as can be seen from the most valuable bibliographical essay with which Dr. Schorske concludes his study. Usually, in histories of the party before 1914, attention is focused on the inroads of revisionism on orthodox Marxism, while in studies of the later history of the party the formation of the Independent Social Democratic party, and of the German Communist party, are related primarily to the events of the war and the revolution.

Dr. Schorske demonstrates conclusively that during the decade before World War I the unity of the party was menaced, not only by revisionists who would discard Marxist theory as an exploded myth but by radicals who despaired of victory through parliamentary gains and who relied on mass action to bring down the structure of capitalist society. Between the reformists and the revolutionists stood the dominant center, unwilling to abandon the Marxist belief in the eventual collapse of capitalism and convinced that revolutionary agitation would not only fail but would reduce the party to persecuted impotence. The war merely precipitated the schism which impended before 1914. In meticulous detail, Dr. Schorske follows the conflict between left, right, and center on the level of ideas, tactics, and organization.

The detail is sometimes wearisome, but the story involves some of the most fundamental and perplexing questions of recent history. Dr. Schorske speaks of "the pariah position in which the Social Democrats had been held by the pressure of the ruling class and by the political philosophy with which they sought to meet that pressure." Might not the pariah position be explained rather by the revolu-

tionary political philosophy? Again, Dr. Schorske demonstrates that, although the election of 1912 showed a decisive majority against the government, the antigovernment majority was incapable of effective co-operation; he concludes that "the real cleavage in public opinion followed the divide of middle class and workers, not that of Junkers and middle class." Might not the cleavage be better described as between those who did, and those who did not, want social revolution?

These and other questions rise to trouble the reader of this thoughtful volume, which is one of the most significant efforts to reinterpret German history published in the last decade.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION: GERMANY IN 1918-1919. By *Rudolf Coper*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 294. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Coper has managed to bring some order into an essentially narrative account of a chaotic time. He focuses his twenty-nine short chapters each on a single problem or episode, and he has produced a lively, richly detailed account of the German revolution from its preparatory phases, through November, 1918, the winter crises in Berlin, the fighting in central and western Germany, and the tragic tale of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria. There are many names, many small incidents, that fill in the frame of events at Berlin and Munich; there is not much, relatively, on the revolution itself elsewhere, though the kaiser's abdication is recounted at some length.

If the author does not spin out theories on the nature of revolution, he is at least consistent in his views of why the German revolution failed. It failed, he says, because nobody among leaders or potential leaders took advantage of the possibilities, particularly the profound will of the masses for socialism. And why this incapacity? Because the Majority Socialists—Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske of course, and the People's Commissar Landsberg, who lurks, a sinister villain, behind the astute political trickster Ebert, the vain Scheidemann, and the butcher Noske—not only did not want socialism but did not even want a change in the essentially military character of the German state, and they hoodwinked or browbeat the masses into acceptance. And because the Independent Socialists were not consistent in their aims and let themselves be fooled; and because the Spartacists followed Liebknecht when he mistakenly decided on a *Putsch* in early January, instead of letting things ripen. Almost nobody emerges from this excessively acid bath of criticism without damage, except perhaps a few naïve—but in the author's view comparatively honest—persons like Kurt Eisner, Emil Barth, or the Berlin shop-steward Richard Müller.

One may question the unmitigated villainy of so many leading figures, and certainly one must ask whether there was not justification for firm measures to restore order, even at the risk of military revival. The possibilities of choice before

Ebert were slighter than here indicated; the forces for chaos from the Left stronger, the power of the Supreme Command to affect decisions of the government greater. Moreover, General Groener's purpose was not merely the restoration of the old "militaristic" monarchy.

Professor Coper's bibliography is strong on near-contemporary memoirs and accounts but lists very little that has appeared since 1930, indeed only one book published since 1945.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

THE THIRD REICH. Edited by *Maurice Baumont*, the Sorbonne; *John H. E. Fried*, New York University, and *Edmond Vermeil*, the Sorbonne. Introduction by *Jacques Rueff*. [Published under the Auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and with the Assistance of UNESCO.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. iv, 910. \$9.00.)

In December, 1948, the General Council of UNESCO passed a resolution to the effect that a detailed report on Fascism and Nazism ought to be written by leading authorities on the subject. The twenty-eight essays which comprise the present massive study are designed to implement that resolution by discussing the origins and policies of the Third Reich. A future volume dealing with Fascism is planned.

A first group of essays deals with the intellectual origins of National Socialism. This section is introduced by a long survey by Professor Vermeil, which attempts to cover the entire course of German intellectual history. In looking for extremist nationalist thinking in virtually every leading German intellectual from Walter von der Vogelweide to Moeller van den Bruck, Vermeil does justice to few and violence to many. Thus in his emphasis, Ranke is to be remembered as a spokesman for "an aggressive policy of expansion and conquest," and the complex and mercurial Rathenau becomes an arrogant disciple of Nietzsche and a prophet of Nazism. Vermeil's essay is written with no consideration for what his fellow contributors are doing. Thus his necessarily truncated treatment of important German thinkers is often rendered superfluous by detailed special studies in the same volume. In this connection attention ought to be brought to the strikingly well-balanced and informed essays on Constantin Frantz by Louis Sauzin; on Paul de Lagarde by Jean-Jacques Anstett; on Stefan George by Claude David; and on Moeller van den Bruck by Roy Pascal. Other essays in this section are devoted to Nietzsche and H. S. Chamberlain.

Gerhard Ritter's contribution, "The Historical Foundations of the Rise of National Socialism," tells at least as much about the thinking of the Freiburg professor as it does about the subject he was invited to discuss. The essay begins by insisting that no one was more surprised than the Germans themselves that Hitler came to power in Germany. The amazement must be shared by the reader of

Ritter's essay for—his title notwithstanding—there are apparently no adequate historical foundations in German history which help to explain the advent of the Nazis. Hitler, according to his own testimony, could never have come to power without the support of the army. Yet, according to Ritter, the senior officers of the army “despised and distrusted” him. Hitler was a political adventurer, but “the German people did not like political adventurers.” To his fellow contributors who urge the importance of past intellectual tendencies, Ritter has a whole variety of answers. Here, as in so many of his other studies, he points out that Germany has had no monopoly on racist, authoritarian, and antidemocratic thought—certainly a valid observation but one which casts very little light on the problem he is discussing. At any rate, he insists, such tendencies are “not representative of the real tendencies alive in the [German] people.” Indeed “the historical origins of Hitlerism are to be found outside the Reich.” He then argues that the “obscure style” of writers such as Ernst Jünger made them “comprehensible only to the literary gourmet.” If such were the case, one must only conclude that the tens of thousands of copies of Jünger's war memoirs indicate that there were more literary gourmets in Germany than is usually supposed. Finally the whole question of the acceptance of National Socialist ideas is dismissed by saying that the ideas are not important anyway since Nazi *Weltanschauung* “never became really popular.” Nor does the failure of a liberal political tradition help to explain the coming of National Socialism. On the contrary, according to Professor Ritter, nineteenth-century Germany was characterized by “a great liberal movement . . . and the energetic and successful establishment of constitutional institutions.” Thus the thesis emerges: Hitler's system was in no sense a continuation, it was a “contradiction of tradition.” And thus the intriguing problem of why Hitler happened to Germany remains unanswered. Explanations suggested by Ritter—the phenomenon of the mass man, changes in religious life, the development of new techniques of mass communication, the Great Depression—are not adequate explanations since all of these factors were present in countries where Fascism did not prosper. Nor is Ritter's insistence that the Germans were simply duped by the cunning deceits of Hitler's propaganda convincing. The crucial question is why did the civilized Germans not reject a system which proclaimed its barbarism so blatantly, so openly, and so often. Ritter's essay does not attempt to handle this question. Essays contributed by other German historians take issue with his analysis. Professor Grenzmann of Bonn argues that the “relapse into barbarism would have been impossible if moral and spiritual values had not already been undermined over a period not of years but of decades.” The effectiveness with which the Nazis utilized—and transmuted—the long military tradition is emphasized by Professor Schokking of Cologne.

There are some rewarding studies in the section devoted to the political and social practices of the Third Reich. Henry Pachter of the New School gives an able analysis of Nazi propaganda technique, as does John Fried. A. J. P. Taylor untangles the web of political intrigue surrounding the immediate accession to

power; Gerhard Kramer of Hamburg presents a biting commentary on the influence of National Socialism on the German judicial system. Professor Grégoire of Louvain performs the thankless task of discussing academic philosophers under the Third Reich and Louis de Jong of the Netherlands gives a detailed description of the organization and effectiveness of the German Fifth Column.

The basic weakness of this collection of essays is that there is an almost total lack of co-ordination and planning. It is to be regretted that the editors made no effort to set the scope of any of the essays. Each contributor was simply given a broad topic to discuss. The result is needless overlapping and repetition. At least five different essays deal with the inflation and the depression; as many separate contributors cover similar ground in discussing anti-Semitism and racism; as many more concern themselves with aspects of Nazi propaganda. In a co-operative study of this type it can be expected that there will be a lack of uniformity in quality and presentation, but these essays range from brilliant and original analysis to fatuous and redundant commentary on secondary accounts. The general impression of a hurried job of preparation is strengthened by amateurish translations, slovenly proofreading, and footnotes which do not jibe with their references.

While it contains valuable individual studies, this volume as a whole does not fulfill the ambitious promise of the jacket blurb: to provide a comprehensive account of the National Socialist movement.

Williams College

ROBERT G. L. WAITE

STORIA POLITICA DELL'AZIONE CATTOLICA IN ITALIA. Volume I, L'OPERA DEI CONGRESSI (1874-1904). Volume II, DALL'ENCICLICA "IL FERMO PROPOSITO" ALLA FONDAZIONE DEL PARTITO POPOLARE (1905-1919). By *Gabriele de Rosa*. [Libri del Tempo, Nos. 9, 19.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1953, 1954. Pp. 337; 459. L. 1700, 2300.)

AMONG the fundamental problems bequeathed to modern Italy by Count Cavour, one of the most agonizing has certainly been that of the Italian Catholics' attitude toward the Italian state. Astute and lucky though he was, Cavour never showed himself at his best when it came to the church, and some of his best thoughts for the "solution" of the problem actually concerned the bribing of Antonelli and other cardinals so that the papacy might acquiesce in the violent solutions which were to culminate in the post-Cavourian action of September 20, 1870. Now, eighty-five years have passed since the breaching of Porta Pia, and the issue is as alive as ever. Scelba—protégé of Don Sturzo—as prime minister was to face all the divisive issues that are dealt with by De Rosa in these two volumes of a three-volume survey of the vicissitudes of Catholic Action in Italy.

In its ever-informative publication *Cultura moderna*, the house of Laterza recently quoted Arturo Carlo Jemolo in a statement calling for a new conception of the state, one inspired by a desire for justice, love of mankind, faith in fraternity, "in a word . . . a return to the Christian message" (February, 1954). This is

apparently the aim of all these distinguished works belonging to Laterza's "Libri del Tempo," a series launched in 1951 with the purpose of educating serious public opinion in Italy. The tone of the series is ethico-moral, as befits a firm so closely linked with the fame of Benedetto Croce, and the cautionary lessons are given by urging the Italian reader to look behind facile cynicism and easy belief in betrayals to the historical realities and painful revelations of the failings of Italians themselves. De Rosa's straightforward title is not so illustrative of the "muck-raking" purpose of these publications as are those of Ernesto Rossi, who called one of his—now in its third and expanded edition—"Seventh, Thou Shalt Not Steal" and his most recent simply "Il Malgoverno," but this author's intentions are much the same. While Rossi deals with the "furbi" or "wise-guys," the profiteers who buy the officials and expect them to be honest enough to stay bought once corrupted, De Rosa's concern is with the intransigents who fought the Italian state and bourgeois liberalism under the banner of religion.

Fully admitting the risks of digging out these now less admired aspects of Catholic Action and of displaying them at such length, De Rosa feels that even this sore spot must be reopened in order to achieve a cure of Italy's problems. The ideology of the "zealots" is this author's main interest here, and he assigns the elements of social reform to a quite inferior role, dismissing them as "a result of that great confusion between the charitable and the economic." The final volume will certainly be the hardest to write and the most interesting to read, for these two bear the oppressing imprint of the failure to apply Christianity to modern society. Once it was admitted that Providence had "tolerated" the end of the temporal power and Catholics were allowed to vote so as to overbalance the socialists in 1904, Sturzo had a party but he had no program. Was a vote against the socialists merely a vote for the reactionaries rather than a vote for the workers and for Christian Democracy? The very same dilemma afflicts the "Demo-Christians" today, and we shall await De Rosa's estimate of the upshot of eighty-five year's experience with more eagerness than envy.

Northwestern University

GEORGE T. ROMANI

HANS DE WITTE, FINANZMANN WALLENSTEINS. By *Anton Ernstberger*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, Nr. 38.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1954. Pp. xi, 564. DM 36.)

This overlong biography is concerned with the story of the sensational rise and fall of a forgotten international merchant banker. Its glorified "hero" is Hans de Witte, a Flemish Calvinist who as a young factor emigrated to Prague where he became, in the course of the turbulent 1610's and 1620's, the entrepreneurial builder and director of a far-flung commercial and financial "empire." At the height of his life, during the first decade of the Thirty Years' War, de Witte, now a member of the hereditary nobility of Bohemia and the richest man of Prague,

was the biggest professional financier of central Europe. Thus, in a manner of speaking, he functioned as the historic heir of Jakob Fugger. But unlike his cautious predecessor he failed to consolidate his gains. Ruthlessly exploited and, toward the bitter end, left in the lurch by his chief debtors, the imperial crown and Generalissimo Wallenstein, de Witte met, in 1630, bankruptcy with suicide.

In loosely integrated fashion the present book deals with the external environment, the private life and personal characteristics, the social "arrival," the political leanings and, above all, the diversified business activities and economic accomplishments of this formidable parvenu-entrepreneur. The value of Professor Ernstberger's narrative lies in the supply of new facts. With indefatigable zeal a mass of data has been gathered from widely scattered sources, among them the archives of Prague and Vienna. This material touches on various phases of central European history and international affairs in the early seventeenth century. Art historians as well as students of political, administrative, military, and religious history may extract from it valuable bits of information. More rewarding is the harvest for the economic and social historian. He profits by the concrete detail pertaining to monetary developments, the silver trade, land speculation, the mining industry, commercial organization, the network of credit and war finance, the wholesale trade in army materiel, foodstuffs, and luxury goods, the social relations and business contacts between merchants, high nobles, and government officials, and other important topics.

Little is to be gained from Mr. Ernstberger's interpretive efforts and his naïve exercises in psychological speculation. Lacking the necessary insights and conceptual tools, he often does not know how to sift, arrange, and appraise his data or to define and clarify significant historical problems. Sadly enough, the antiquarian and flowery narrator scored a victory over the historian and social scientist in this biography, which is rich in relevant and irrelevant facts, shallow in thought, weak or pointless in analysis, and exasperatingly wordy in style. These shortcomings notwithstanding, the author deserves credit for the suggestive material he has put on display.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

CZARTORYSKI AND EUROPEAN UNITY, 1770-1861. By *M. Kukiel*. [Poland's Millennium Series of the Kościuszko Foundation.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 354. \$6.00.)

ADAM Czartoryski lived a very remarkable life as well as a very long one. Primarily Polish patriot, but also soldier and Russian statesman, he was close to the center of European affairs during all his adult years and was personally acquainted with most of the leading figures of his time. This biographical study by General Marian Kukiel, formerly director of the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow and more recently professor of modern history at the Polish University in London,

might as appropriately as Crane Brinton's *Lives of Talleyrand* have included a plural noun in its title. A well-written book, it incorporates the most recent scholarly work on the many phases of Europe's development in which Czartoryski was involved and also makes readily available to American readers the substance of the extensive work done during the interwar years by Polish scholars, especially the late Marcei Handelsman. General Kukiel is concerned hardly at all with Czartoryski's personal affairs. Perhaps because the very extensive corpus of Czartoryski manuscripts formerly preserved in the museum in Cracow was not available to him, he seldom quotes the words of his subject. Thus Czartoryski does not become as live a figure as might be wished. There are also a number of typographical errors, particularly mistaken dates, and some inconsistencies in the handling of the names of British noblemen. But these are minor flaws in a useful work which, though clearly written by a Polish patriot, remains well within the limits of scholarly objectivity.

At a moment when the reviving power of Germany makes the status of Poland once again a matter of general concern, it is instructive to consider the consequences of the "greatest crime in history." As General Kukiel makes evident, Czartoryski was intent not only to restore Polish independence but also to accomplish this goal within the framework of the political liberalism which derived from the Enlightenment. A good chapter is devoted to his political treatise, *Essai sur la diplomatie*. His intellectual sympathies were firmly attached to the West, to France and to England, where he had lived for a good many months as a young man and had many friends. And conversely it was political theory as well as mutual participation in the rape of Poland which bound Austria, Prussia, and Russia together. Poland lay geographically in the midst of her authoritarian, robber neighbors and was not situated, like Turkey, where British and French power could—and can—be brought to bear without major war. This surely is why after 1831 Czartoryski's thirty years of diplomacy or intrigue won little but expressions of good will. It took not the Crimean War, a conflict with strictly limited objectives, but World War I, which accomplished the overthrow of the governments of the three eastern empires, to restore Polish independence.

Likewise instructive in a world which harbors so many exiles is another aspect of Czartoryski's last thirty years. In much of his activity Czartoryski was more or less closely associated with members of an international circle of exiles, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Italians, Mazzini, Marx, Bakunin. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. General Kukiel's biography illuminates much of the history of modern Europe.

Pomona College

JOHN H. GLEASON

LENIN AND HIS RIVALS: THE STRUGGLE FOR RUSSIA'S FUTURE,
1898-1906. By *Donald W. Treadgold*. [Praeger Publications in Russian His-

tory and World Communism, Number 33.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. 291. \$5.00.)

IN the author's own words "this book deals with the efforts of the Russian intelligentsia 'to set the people free'. . . More precisely, it attempts to describe a crucial stage of those efforts, the decade climaxed by the miscarried Revolution of 1905" (p. 5). The author sets as his task a "painstaking analysis" devoted "to the growth and development of the thought and action of Russian parties—particularly in relation to each other" (p. 8). The topic chosen by Professor Treadgold is not an easy one. To enable the reader to follow complex developments, to follow details and yet not to lose track of the central idea required a most careful handling. In this respect the author was only partially successful. His findings are presented somewhat as a collection of articles or essays rather than an integrated study with a single purpose. The same criticism applies to the individual chapters where numerous digressions, chronological excursions back and forth, often interrupt the continuity of thought. Even in the middle of a paragraph the reader is likely to be distracted by a controversial opinion appearing without substantiation. For instance, when introducing Victor Chernov, "the doctrinaire of the SR's," Professor Treadgold casually remarks: "When 1917 came, he allowed Kerensky to violate party discipline and lead the SR party to ruin without challenging him until it was too late" (p. 61). This judgment is by no means self-evident. There are other similar pronouncements scattered throughout the book.

The first part of the book ends with the assertion: "The Russian Liberation Movement was a coalition army, in which harmony was on the whole retained to a remarkable degree until the events of October 1905" (p. 59). This statement, rather puzzling in its place, does not logically follow from the previous discussion which deals largely with the events before and during 1898. Nor do the subsequent pages convince the reader of the existence of "remarkable harmony" at any time either within each opposition party or in their relations with each other, although unquestionably their dissensions became intensified after the manifesto of October 17/30. This theme with some variations reappears further in the book and is finally shaped in the title of the concluding chapter, "The First Popular Front." It is possible to draw certain analogies between the Russian revolutionary situation of 1905 and later "popular fronts," but to apply the terms of one historical epoch to another entails risks. In the present case the use of an "interest arousing" device does not justify the conclusion that "In retrospect the history of 1905 appears as the story of the first Popular Front" (p. 268).

In the preparation of his book Professor Treadgold consulted a number of outstanding authorities and utilized a mass of significant material in various libraries including libraries abroad, much of it new to English readers. He has an excellent command of the Russian language. He apparently devoted much thought to his subject and makes some interesting and valid observations. He attacked his problem conscientiously and diligently. But he needed more time to assimilate his

material, remove repetitions, clarify inconsistencies, and sharpen the salient points before publishing this challenging book.

University of California, Berkeley

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF

GRIECHENLAND UND DIE GROSSMÄCHTE IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Ehregard Schramm-von Thadden*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band IX.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1955. Pp. vi, 244. DM 16.)

IN quick succession three scholarly studies on Greece during the last war have recently been published in the United States, in England, and in Germany: Dimitrios G. Kousoulas, *Price of Freedom: Greece in World Affairs, 1939-1953* (Syracuse, 1953); Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: Political and Economic Survey, 1939-1953* (London, 1954); and the German book under review. By the use of fresh sources and in analytical incisiveness the German contribution outdistances the other two and, like Andreas Hillgruber's book on German-Rumanian relations between 1938 and 1944 (Vol. V, 1954, in the Mainz Institute series), it is a highly creditable addition to the literature on the war in southeastern Europe.

The author, whose *Griechenland und die Grossen Mächte 1913-1923* (Göttingen, 1933) illuminated the role of Greece in the Great War, has now given a detailed analysis of the events which led to the war of the Axis Powers against Greece and the occupation of the country in the Second World War. The study shows how Hitler's "hands off" attitude toward the Balkans changed into a determination to forestall by military action the dreaded Soviet influence in southeastern Europe. The differences of opinion between Hitler and Mussolini about the role of the Balkans in the world conflict and the steps which led Ciano and Mussolini to their private Italo-Greek war (unrelated to the simultaneous war effort of Italy's German ally) are clearly brought out. Mussolini's decision to start the war against Greece without regard for the economic and military unpreparedness of his country is explained in terms of his jealousy of Hitler spurred by personal vanity. The heroic fight of the Greeks, "the Finns of the Balkans" as they were called in 1940, against overwhelming odds is told with unconcealed compassion but nevertheless with objectivity.

Circumspect use has been made by the author of the Nuremberg Trial documentation available at the Göttingen Institute for International Law and of a large number of printed Greek and Italian sources. By obtaining personal testimonies from German and Greek officers and diplomats obscure points have been cleared up. It seems that Gerhard L. Weinberg's *Germany and the Soviet Union 1939-1941* (1954)—although listed in the bibliography—came out too late to change certain accents in Dr. Schramm's study regarding Soviet attitudes and Hitler's resolution to attack the Soviet Union. Although she regards Molotov's Berlin visit in November, 1940, as Hitler's "last great attempt to solve by peaceful

means the latent conflict with Russia" (p. 127), it is very doubtful that Hitler at this time believed in a peaceful solution (Weinberg, p. 144, and the same in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, II [1954], 251). A hint of the "probably far more than one hundred Russian divisions standing [in December, 1940] ready for attack at the frontiers of Rumania and Poland" is an echo of the theory advanced and later abandoned by H.-G. Seraphim (Göttingen) that Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union was a "preventive war." There are other debatable points on pages 204-205 about the influence of the Yugoslav events on Hitler's decision to attack the Soviet Union and about the timing of the attack.

Strange mistakes have slipped into the reprint (p. 167) of a telegram by Schulenburg of March 1, 1941. The not insignificant role of the Greek merchant marine, which in the winter of 1939-1940 was transporting British goods as well as German until British complaints closed this gap in the blockade, could have been mentioned.

Library of Congress

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

Far Eastern History

JAPANESE STUDIES OF MODERN CHINA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL-SCIENCE RESEARCH ON THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. By *John King Fairbank*, Professor of History, Harvard University, and *Masataka Banno*, Professor of Diplomatic History, Tokyo Metropolitan University, and Researcher in the Institute for Oriental Culture, Tokyo University. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company for Harvard-Yenching Institute. 1955. Pp. xviii, 331. \$6.00.)

PROFESSORS Fairbank of Harvard and Banno of Tokyo Metropolitan University have here produced a valuable and interesting volume for students of the modern Far East, Japan as well as China. Designed as a companion volume to *Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works, 1898-1937* by Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu (Harvard, 1950), it lists and discusses briefly more than one thousand books and articles written in the Japanese language, which items "constitute the main body of Japanese research on modern China."

There are nine main categories: general works, late Ch'ing political history, political institutions, power politics (Japanese and Russian expansion), republican China, intellectual and cultural history, economic history and institutions, Chinese society, and reference works. Each of these has from five to nineteen subdivisions, which become specific enough (e.g., Boxer rebellion, alien rule over China, mining, village studies) to pinpoint several hundred "compartmentalized" special studies and research monographs. These with their wealth of painstakingly collected data and detail would seem to constitute the best of the Japanese contribu-

tion to understanding modern China. Such studies are of great value in spite of the fact that they were often done under the auspices of agencies of Japanese continental expansion such as the South Manchurian Railway, the Japanese foreign office, and the Tōa Dōbun Shoin at Shanghai. The long-range studies, however, suffer from two maladies, noninterpretation and unrealistic doctrinaire interpretation. The authors discuss this in an absorbing introductory essay in which they give particular attention to the matter of Marxist bias in many recent interpretative studies. They suggest that Marxism became something of an "esoteric doctrine" to many Japanese scholars who took it up in reaction to the unfree intellectual climate which required them in prewar years to interpret history in a way congenial to the emperor system or not at all.

The authors found it necessary to limit as peripheral sections on Korea and Manchuria and omit entirely consideration of the domestic causes of Japanese expansion (which sections this reviewer would have relished for his own research), but they added a splendid index. *Japanese Studies of Modern China* is not only a valuable bibliographical tool to the student of modern China; its introduction, section summaries, and biographical notes make it a fascinating commentary on historians and the tides of historical scholarship in Japan.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

American History

CHANCE OR DESTINY: TURNING POINTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company, 1955. Pp. 220. \$3.75.)

MEMBERS of the historical profession are subject to two temptations which limit their influence. One of these is the habit of talking mostly to themselves and the other is an enervating dependence upon others to do their basic thinking. We are well aware of the sorry state of an individual who goes about mumbling and who passively permits more decisive characters to make up his mind. It is not a state historians should covet for themselves.

Mr. Handlin, in this book, makes a contribution to the historian's intellectual reorientation and, if the latter will heed its implications, to the stiffening of his intellectual spine. First of all, he has "gone to the people" by writing for the *Atlantic Monthly* instead of for some historical house organ, and, secondly, he has issued what may be termed a "Historian's Manifesto."

The reason for this manifesto is a prevailing mood that has accepted a historical determinism which, like other forms of totalitarianism, is destroying belief in the significance of the individual and his endeavors. To offset the deadening influence of this paralyzing philosophy, Mr. Handlin has brought together a most suggestive series of eight incidents showing the part that chance and individual

idiosyncrasy have played at a series of turning points in the onward march of Americans toward greater and greater world responsibility and significance.

There may be criticism of the importance of the element of chance in some of these incidents and there may be some feeling that the author discounts certain of the strong elements which shape man's behavior, such as impersonal forces and institutions, but Mr. Handlin is fully aware of these possibilities. He is arguing not for an exclusive but an inclusive intellectual process. His interest does not in any sense deny the need for close consideration of the blind impersonal forces or the great institutional inertia which shapes much of man's destiny. It does emphasize the historian's responsibility for giving constant attention to the behavior of the individual and for looking out for the unique and the accidental. Above all, it warns him implicitly to avoid simple-minded acceptance of attractive theoretical frameworks supplied by writers in other disciplines, or by just writers, i.e., by people who have no historical training or skill. It is a subtle invitation for the historian to use his mind, a task often difficult.

Anyone who reads this review and then fails to read this book demonstrates the validity of the thesis that historians like to depend on others to do their thinking. It is a short book and easy to read. Even the most harassed historian, with his table piled with the latest specialized literature comprehensible to only himself and a few others, can find time to read pages 191-212 of this book. If he doesn't, it may be an indication that he is willing to be a victim of intellectual futility.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICA: THE MYTH OF RAGS TO RICHES. By *Irvin G. Wyllie*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 210. \$4.00.)

In the folklore of the United States, the most persistent and popular hero has not been some type of Robin Hood or Davy Crockett, but the self-made man, the man who rose from low to high estate and became a personage of wealth and substance. This hero's rise came about through no whim of fate or piece of luck; it was always the result of the cultivation of virtues conducive to material prosperity: diligence, thrift, and sobriety, with a rigid concern lest one fall into waste and extravagance. Life is serious and life is earnest and no moment of God's precious time must be squandered in idle frivolity. To attain material success, one must consider carefully the architecture of one's fortune. Every act must be weighed in its relation to one's reputation and credit. Benjamin Franklin not only thought it desirable to work hard at his trade, but he must also roll a wheelbarrow through the streets of Philadelphia so that everyone, particularly his creditors, might see with what diligence he applied himself and how thriftily he avoided hiring a carter. In the end the hero wound up full of years, honor,

wealth, and wise saws on how he attained success. This has been the legend of the self-made man, beloved by preachers, lecturers, and pamphleteers. The rise and fall of this gospel of success is Professor Irvin G. Wyllie's theme in a concise and well-written book savored with humor and wisdom.

The gospel of success goes back beyond America to the middle class of Elizabethan England. They magnified the virtues of thrift, diligence, and sobriety, and preached a doctrine of denial of temptations that tended to waste and extravagance. Many of these Elizabethans were Puritans, it is true, but it does not necessarily follow, as Max Weber contended, that the Puritans invented this particular type of capitalism. What is true is that the self-denying morality of the Puritans became part and parcel of the capitalistic point of view in the seventeenth century. They carried it over to the American colonies where it flourished mightily in New England and in time permeated the rest of the country. Benjamin Franklin, steeped in his youth in these doctrines, became their most articulate propagandist in the eighteenth century, and even yet his gospel of thrift and diligence receives constant reiteration and emphasis.

Mr. Wyllie traces the development of the gospel of material success from colonial days down to the Great Collapse of 1929 and finds that it was a means of stirring hope and faith in the economic system, but that as a method of insuring the individual's chances of material wealth, it was more a myth than a reality. But Americans believed in the doctrine, and thousands of ill-paid clerks stuck grimly to their desks throughout the nineteenth century, waiting for the reward that for the most part never came, as Mr. Wyllie demonstrates. At the turn of the century, the muck-rakers and reformers pointed out that the great financial successes resulted more from sharp practice and knavery than from diligence and sobriety. Then with the coming of the Great Depression, a race of cynics arose who called in question the whole religion of material success. Yet there is no conclusive evidence that we have given over this ancient faith, or that the hot gospellers of the creed have abandoned their pulpits. "Men on the bottom need dreams," concludes Mr. Wyllie, "and over the years Edward Bok, Orison Marsden, Russell Conwell and other philosophers of our business civilization have been only too happy to supply them. Belief in the self-made man requires only an act of faith, and as every Sunday School boy knows, faith is simply the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Not even the Internal Revenue Collector has quite eliminated the sublime, if irrational, hope from the diligent bond salesman and his customer that in some fashion he will strike it rich. Mr. Wyllie's book is a provocative and thoughtful treatise that every student of the American mores ought to read.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICA: AN INTERPRETATION OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT SINCE THE REVOLUTION. By

Louis Hartz. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1955. Pp. ix, 329. \$4.75.)

In this volume Mr. Hartz extends to all of American history the thesis that he has previously applied to more circumscribed periods. "The argument of the book"—the phrase is the author's—runs as follows: the development of American democratic society has been unique from its very beginning since the country was "born free." Without ever having an influential feudal class, the nation has had no compelling reactionary impulse and consequently no revolutionary tradition as those terms are understood in Europe. From the date of its origin, America has been a true monolithic liberal society in which the only deviants have been a quickly frustrated Hamiltonian elitism and a make-believe southern aristocracy that did not even believe in itself. In such an intellectual environment, both a vital conservatism and a meaningful socialism were doomed from the start. The only real political clash in America, then, has been between the big-propertyed Whigs and the small-propertyed Progressives, who, measured by a European yardstick, have had a great deal more in common with their identical beliefs in the Lockian synthesis than they have differed.

Without the European class configuration, whereby the European Whigs could play off the aristocracy against the proletariat and the proletariat against the aristocracy, the American Progressive, according to Professor Hartz, became "unconquerable" except in periods when he was totally disorganized, or when, as during the 1920's, he became enchanted with the dream of becoming a Whig himself. But whether dominated by Whig or Progressive thinking, the basic American liberal conceptions were never called into question. This moral unanimity, the author states, explains much. A society so agreed upon its fundamental liberal ethics could let judges decide most of the remaining minor contentions. Hence the growth of legalism and the cult of the Constitution. It could acquiesce in numerous restraints on the majority. It could abide with a seemingly unworkable system of checks and balances largely because there was so little need of them.

This lack of class diversity throughout our history has atrophied the philosophic impulse, has led us to accept our own values without thought, and has bred a deep ignorance of those of other societies. Now that America is meeting its first critical challenge from abroad, this "colossal moral absolutism," the author concludes, is having "two automatic effects: it hampers creative action abroad by identifying the alien with the unintelligible, and it inspires hysteria at home by generating the anxiety that unintelligible things produce."

This inadequate précis fails to do justice to an extremely able and original interpretation of the whole course of American history. It is brilliantly written and sprinkled with fresh and pointed quotations from the entire corpus of American and European political writings. Admittedly based upon a "single factor" analysis of history, it is a freewheeling and controversial book. Many historians will want to question some of the author's facts, and more his interpretations.

The juxtaposition of the claim for scientific analysis and the use of such terms as "the democratic psyche" and a national "Oedipus complex" is rather bewildering. The volume could have used a good proofreader. But when all this is said, the reviewer will not be surprised to encounter a good many of Mr. Hartz's insights and observations in the American history book of the future.

University of California, Los Angeles

GEORGE E. MOWRY

POLITICS IN AMERICA. By D. W. Brogan. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1954. Pp. vii, 467. \$5.00.)

By now all American historians are acquainted with the qualities of this formidable Scotsman—the man's fantastic knowledge of the United States, his shrewd wit, his instinct for separating the important from the conspicuous. All of these qualities are abundantly present in *Politics in America*. The book is pure Brogan and pure delight.

As might be expected from Mr. Brogan's previous writings, he is at his best in treating the actual workaday functionings of institutions. His chapter on the national conventions is probably the most astute, and certainly the most readable, short treatment of that tricky subject. Other particularly notable sections concern the role of the President, the interplay of local interests and national parties, and the varieties of graft, dirty or respectable. He points up a fact which should certainly be underlined—the trend in the South toward the identification of party allegiance with economic class.

Yet some qualifications must be hurriedly entered. Like many men of vigorous minds, Mr. Brogan has strong and sweeping opinions. His 1933 study, *The American Political System*, looked at the political system of the United States with doubts if not downright alarm. Perhaps only a revolution, he wondered darkly, would cure the system of its grave defects. The present volume goes to another extreme; it is as cheery as a summer carnival. For almost anything—even the antics of the reactionary Republican right-wing—Mr. Brogan has a ready explanation, and the explanation is usually the kind that dissolves away the importance of the fact. Since World War II, American historians have been growing noticeably more tender toward the American scene. The trend seems to stretch across the ocean, and in virulent form.

Another quality of *Politics in America* fits into no conceivable trend and is particularly surprising in a Britisher. Mr. Brogan comes close to treating the American political system as if the cold war had never happened. There are oblique or incidental references to some phases of the new situation and a sporadic discussion of the internal security problem. But little or no recognition is given to the enormous political and governmental results of the emergence of foreign affairs to a position of continuing priority, of a defense-dominated budget, of the powerful role of big brass in the governmental structure, or of the general blurr-

ing over of the line between the military and the civilian aspects of policy-making. This is certainly a pre-Eisenhower, not to speak of a pre-Truman, approach to the governmental system of the United States.

Politics in America is an ideal book to stimulate the scholar or to intrigue the undergraduate who has decided that American politics is a dreary game of chasing platitudes around a pork barrel. It is not a balanced discussion of the present American political system.

Princeton University

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

THE NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Bernard Bailyn*. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 249. \$4.75.)

In the past, the social history of seventeenth-century New England has been written in terms of the Puritan Zion, not of the market place. The interaction of these two forces—meetinghouse and countinghouse—is the basic problem to which Mr. Bailyn has devoted this excellent book.

His theme is the crystallization of interests that emerged with the growth of a merchant group, interests that differed from those of the Puritan oligarchs. In developing this theme, Mr. Bailyn traces in detail the rise and fall of the New England fur trade, the beginning and end of the experiment in the production of iron, and the first flowering of the enterprise that brought the merchants final success—a seaborne trade. The relationships, personal and economic, upon which New England's overseas trade depended, Mr. Bailyn points out, "had no preordained place in the Puritan scheme of things. . . . The Puritan magistrates found themselves dealing with men whose vitally necessary enterprises seemed at times to threaten the integrity of the established order but which could not be controlled without being made less useful." By 1660, the outline of New England's economy had been unmistakably and permanently sketched, and the merchant group was proving an "effective agent" of social change. By the end of the century it had become the dominant voice in the councils of government. Although a set of common interests (to dominate the governor's council, to control English functionaries in the colony, and to find a solution of the currency problem) had emerged, neither these interests nor intermarriage among the merchant families was sufficient, Mr. Bailyn concludes, to weld the merchants into a clearly defined, homogeneous bloc. Their differences, as well as their common interests, shaped the later history of the New England merchants.

It is a tribute to the ground-breaking nature of the book that additional lines of research suggest themselves. The role of the Boston merchants in the development of the New England outports is only one avenue of study along which historians can now proceed with considerable assurance, thanks to Mr. Bailyn. One cannot do better than to take Mr. Bailyn's book as the point of departure. It is

social history as it has seldom been written and business history as it should be written—a story of people, not of prices and trends, of merchants, not mercantile houses.

Alexandria, Virginia

BYRON FAIRCHILD

JOHN CARROLL OF BALTIMORE: FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY. By *Annabelle M. Melville*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1955. Pp. ix, 338. \$4.50.)

Mrs. Melville concludes her biography with a quotation from Cardinal Gibbons. The first Catholic bishop in the United States, said this distinguished successor, had one "dominant idea." It was "absolute loyalty to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States. . . . His aim was that clergy and people should be thoroughly identified with the land. . . . From this mutual accord of Church and State there could but follow beneficent effects for both."

Envisaging her hero as a kind of George Washington of American Catholicism, the author focuses on the arrangements Carroll made to adjust his expanding church to the many facets of liberal nationalism in the Republic during its first forty years. As to Carroll's regard for the Bill of Rights, and for the principle of religious liberty generally, he made his position explicit, and his biographer places him at the head of the class: "No man was ever a more ardent believer in religious liberty," she says in two or three places, than was the first American bishop.

The issues and conditions of nationalism which he confronted were many. Though his attachments and loyalties in England remained deep, Carroll was a firm patriot during both wars with the mother country; and the description in this book of Carroll's experience as reluctant diplomat with Franklin in Quebec, and their return home together, is vivid. As a believer in law and order, Carroll was a natural Federalist; and later, when archiepiscopal responsibilities directed his attention to the West, he shared the common enthusiasm for America's continental extension. He acknowledged that Catholics in this country could not be prevented from marrying outside the church; but he yielded nothing to "trusteeism" in urban parishes, which repeatedly threatened to modify in Protestant direction Catholicism's local polity. The work of Mother Seton at Emmitsburg tells a very human story of an American volunteer meeting American needs. But the great part of Carroll's work, establishing Sulpicians, Carmelites, Capuchins, Benedictines, Jesuits, and so on, from many parts of Europe, was an effort directed to incorporating the old in the new Republic, and the author misses something of the drama of the paradox.

By her research, much of it in transcripts at the Catholic University of America, Mrs. Melville has made good her commitment to improve on outdated phases of Guilday's biography. But her background history is often pretty loose; and she

sometimes oversimplifies situations naïvely. Her attitude toward Catholicism perhaps helps explain such an absurd characterization of Jefferson's religion as an "odd preference for a hodge-podge of Epicureanism and Christianity" (p. 103).

The present biography offers a net gain; it does not claim to be definitive. Carroll deserves yet another book—something more sharp-cut, more probing of intellectual issues and reconciliations, whether or not more approving.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE SOUTHERN INDIANS: THE STORY OF THE CIVILIZED TRIBES BEFORE REMOVAL. By R. S. *Cotterill*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 255. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Cotterill's book is a history of relations between the southern Indians and their Anglo-American neighbors from the beginning of the Revolutionary War until their forceable removal in the 1830's to territory west of the Mississippi. Merely introductory are the first two chapters pertaining to the culture of the Civilized Tribes and their previous contacts with Europeans during a period of more than two centuries.

After the Revolutionary War, lands occupied by the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees were claimed by both the United States and Spain. These Indians, under the astute leadership of the Creek chief Alexander McGillivray, were able, with Spanish assistance, to resist American encroachments. His death in 1793 was followed by confusion and disaster. Along the frontier, American forces invaded and devastated the Indian country from the Maumee towns to those of the Chickamaugas. Soon thereafter Spain added to the southern tribes' misfortunes by relinquishing claims to territory north of the thirty-first parallel to the United States, thus leaving them at the mercy of their most powerful enemy.

As a result of racial and cultural mixture among the Civilized Tribes, bitter rivalry occasionally developed between groups of Indians who adhered to ancient customs and those who were adopting the white man's mode of life. The massacre at Fort Mims in 1813, according to the author, was a by-product of this type of internal struggle among the Creeks. It brought retribution upon the whole nation because punitive American forces ruthlessly crushed resistance and exacted large land cessions. Following the War of 1812, the United States increased pressure for removal upon all southern Indians. The end came during Jackson's administration when the tribes reluctantly agreed to surrender their lands and move west.

Treating his subject sympathetically, the author presents the Indian point of view insofar as his sources permit. His knowledge of individuals and details is tremendous and his interpretations are fresh and interesting. Outstanding is his treatment of the social and economic revolution among the southern Indians

caused by the acquisition of European blood and culture. Great quantities of materials upon the southern tribes exist in the Spanish archives but of these there has been very limited use. Certain easily available published documents of Spanish origin are not mentioned and the word "Spain" does not appear in the index. However, within the limits set by the author, the book is an important contribution to American history.

University of California, Berkeley

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

P. G. T. BEAUREGARD: NAPOLEON IN GRAY. By *T. Harry Williams*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 345. \$4.75.)

PIERRE Gustave Toutant Beauregard was vain, boastful, grandiose in his military theories, sensitive to his own honor and reputation, and obtuse to the feelings and reputation of his comrades in arms and his superiors in civil life. He would criticize his superiors and his colleagues without mercy, but became enraged and struck back fiercely and unreasonably at any criticism of himself. Beauregard considered himself from the very outset of the Civil War the Napoleon in Gray, and he regarded his colleagues as second- and third-rate military men. He was constantly pouring in a stream of grand-scale military plans to Davis and the high command—plans that were half baked and that ignored the realities of supply, transportation, and man power. Such plans were based upon the teachings of Napoleon and Jomini. It was on the basis of such unrealistic planning that Davis and his colleagues at Richmond evaluated Beauregard—even the tolerant Lee did not trust the Creole's judgment. Historians of the Civil War also have usually based their evaluation of Beauregard on the fantastic proposals he made in the realm of grand strategy.

Mr. Williams does not attempt to build up or debunk Beauregard. Rather he sets out to probe his character and personality and present him in action with all his good and bad qualities. This he has done with fine insight, good-natured tolerance for vanity and pomposity, and appreciation of those fine qualities and skills that Beauregard possessed but which his angry contemporaries and irritated historians of a later generation have been unable to recognize. Mr. Williams makes us aware of the fact that Beauregard, because of his unwise and often unfair criticism of his colleagues and superiors in rank and his downright insubordination and contempt of President Davis, was never given the opportunity to command for any length of time a large field army and thereby prove or disprove his ability as a field commander.

In one respect, the author is convinced of Beauregard's talents: he was an effective combat commander—in other words, a good tactician and battle leader, once the battle was joined. At Bull Run, despite his unrealistic planning and the strategic surprise that McDowell gave him, the author is convinced that Beaure-

gard conducted the battle effectively when he ultimately realized the situation. Again Beauregard was the key figure in the concentration of the scattered Confederate army at Shiloh, the retreat to and the defense of Corinth and the withdrawal to Tupelo, all of which revealed tactical and engineering skill. His defence of Charleston in 1863–1864 was a classic operation which convinced the Federals that Charleston could never be captured from the sea. It also revealed Beauregard's superior talents as an engineer and as an artilleryman. It further demonstrated that he was a first-class independent commander in a small theater over which he could exercise personal supervision. Again in the summer of 1864 the rapid concentration of his forces before Petersburg and the "bottling up" of Benjamin F. Butler, when he rather than Lee anticipated Grant's move on the Confederate railway center south of the James, saved Petersburg and probably Richmond for the next nine months.

The author's estimate of Beauregard as he actually developed during the Civil War—rather than what he might have been—was that he was an excellent, down-to-earth combat general, an excellent battlefield tactician; that, on the other hand, his strategic planning on which he so prided himself was unrealistic—the fanciful mental operation of an imaginative but inexperienced field general.

Within the compass of 329 pages of text, Mr. Williams has written a comprehensive, authoritative, and very interesting biography of the most unique and complex character of the Confederacy.

University of Alabama

FRANK L. OWSLEY

HENRY GEORGE. By *Charles Albrow Barker*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 696. \$9.50.)

THOROUGH in research and judicious in presentation, this long biography describes simultaneously the actions and the ideas of Henry George. It traces his life from birth in 1839 to death in 1897: young manhood in Philadelphia, twenty-one years in California as printer and prominent editor, the last eighteen years in New York as reformer of world reputation.

But these external events matter less than the ideas, and all of George's ideas stemmed from a dual source—the natural rights tradition which had come down from Jefferson, and the egalitarianism of Christianity. When he applied this moral code to his society George found specific evils. The tariff was wrong; he stood for free trade. Private monopolies were wrong; he advocated public ownership of natural monopolies like the telegraph and railroad. And rent on land was wrong, and it should be captured for public use. These three prescriptions, together with the Australian ballot, were the great reforms of Henry George.

Not until 1888, nine years after he published *Progress and Poverty*, did George explicitly advocate the single tax on land, excluding improvements. In 1873 he had coupled a tax on the value of land with an inheritance tax and license taxes

on liquor, gambling houses, and other activities requiring regulation. But by 1892 he had not only scrapped these suggestions, he also came out vehemently against the income tax which was then at issue.

Professor Barker traces these developments with an admirable sorting of the evidence. His account is full and accurate, and he does a fine job of integrating into the text his extended vivisections of George's books. The story is perhaps too full; it sometimes seems to lack emphasis and sharp climaxes. In a few places the reader needs more information to follow the argument (as, for example, the discussion of the Morrill Act, p. 96).

Henry George has often been regarded as an *economic* thinker. Professor Barker insists, with excellent evidence, that *Progress and Poverty* is a *moral* and economic book. This is true enough. But I think he may overestimate George's virtues as an economist. On free trade, George's argument is almost entirely a moral one. He does not say that free trade will promote prosperity nearly so strongly as he says that it is morally right. As to George's theory of depressions, it clearly is not a theory of business cycles. At best it is a theory of chronic unemployment, and even on that score it is not impressive. As to rent, Ricardo's analysis seems superior to George's, and George's refusal to concede that capital and labor as well as land can collect (or extort) rent is incomprehensible as a matter of economics.

Henry George's chief importance, and it seems to me substantial, was as a moral agitator against social evils. This is true of his books, and equally so of his magnificent campaign for mayor of New York in 1886.

But Professor Barker shows that George's economic ideas did exert a practical influence, perhaps more in England and Australia than in this country, where cities like New York, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh have adopted the principle of separate assessment of land and improvements, with higher taxes on the former than on the latter.

This biography is a first-rate addition to the studies dealing with various aspects of the antimonopoly tradition in the United States. With the number of monographs now available, some scholar should undertake a full-length interpretation of this tradition from Jefferson to the New Deal, with side glances at Garrison, George, and Altgeld.

New York, N. Y.

RAY GINGER

RED SCARE: A STUDY IN NATIONAL HYSTERIA, 1919-1920. By Robert K. Murray. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 337. \$4.75.)

AFTER the 1798 "Crisis in Freedom" had passed, Thomas Jefferson delineated the American program for dealing with peacetime dissentients. For over a century, malcontents were largely left to stand "as monuments of the safety with which

error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." This author explains how the residual tensions of war led to our first "Red Scare."

Professor Murray frankly accepts the "moral approach" to history. He admits a limited danger to internal security at the time. By using prejudice, emotion, hatred, and fear, the patrioteers, however, created a Bolshevik bugbear. While the author is chary of drawing comparisons with the more complex present situation, he warns us of the dangers of an artificial nationalism and argues that radicalism should be contained by removing the seedbeds of social decay from which it draws nourishment.

The thesis of this book is simple, direct, and well expounded. The industrialists were "saddle-sore" after two decades of muck-raking and reform. Could these New Freedom Wilsonians be trusted to remove the wartime controls over the national economy? As part of a larger plan, inchoate rather than blue-printed, big business chose to resist the demands of the revitalized labor movement. The workers accepted the challenge. They received some succor and more cheers from "pink" or "red" allies. The real issue of collective bargaining was obscured by labor's talk of a general strike and capital's myopic intransigence. Because some highly placed officials lost perspective, the federal government came to play a leading role in the whole sorry mess. President Wilson was ill and, even after partial recovery, his mind-set did not permit a correct evaluation of the situation. So the principle of representative government was set aside and, for a time, cherished American values were forgotten. This "national psychoneurosis" was, however, short-lived and the hysteria waned in the excitement of the Harding-Cox campaign. But the aberration had persistent influences which are carefully weighed.

This is a superior book based on wide research. The author has carefully digested the morass of private, federal, and state documents, conventional and unusual press and periodical material. He draws vivid thumbnail sketches of undeservedly forgotten men, organizations, and institutions. One possible question comes to mind. Was there not more relationship, than here indicated, to the simultaneous reaction against the League of Nations? To be sure, the lines were not the same, for liberal irreconcilables often defended civil liberties and some conservative friends of collective security lost their heads on Bolshevism. Yet the irrational behavior on both questions seems to have been motivated by the same fundamental causes. The war posed two problems. Would the government withdraw its control over the national economy and "return to normalcy"? Could we not now withdraw from our wartime foreign entanglements and let the Old World find its own way back to stability? Powerful groups formed to oppose both the enlargement of government power at home and the effective use of American influence abroad. Their combined success is shown in the reaction of the twenties and in the tardy acceptance by the American people of the inescapable facts of our century.

University of Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES. Volume II, THE INSIDE STRUGGLE, 1936-1939. Volume III, THE LOWERING CLOUDS, 1939-1941. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1954. Pp. 759, 695. \$6.00 ea.)

WHEN Volume I of the *Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes* was published, I felt it should have been subtitled "One Big Whine from Beginning to End." The two present volumes have less of the whine about them. Whether this is because time mellowed the Old Curmudgeon (doubtful) or the editors did a better job in selecting more important material to publish and deleting much of the whine, I don't know. The editors continue the unfortunate and exasperating policy of failing to indicate where material has been deleted. Heavy amounts were left out. The failure to indicate where with ellipses reduces the value of these volumes to historians.

These volumes cover the years from Roosevelt's re-election in 1936 to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Early in Volume II world events begin to alter the focus of the Roosevelt administration from concentration on domestic problems to growing concern over the deterioration of world peace. There is, nevertheless, a great deal in Volume II on such controversial questions as the fight on the Supreme Court and the plan to reorganize the executive branch of government. While Volume III basically chronicles the impact of war on governmental policies, it contains interesting material on the third term situation and the way Harry Hopkins—much to Ickes' disgust—ran the Roosevelt campaign at the Chicago convention.

These two volumes are as blunt and as caustic as Volume I, although Ickes' vanity and sensitiveness over being ignored in many major decisions does not intrude in these pages quite as much as before. Some of it is still there, however, and it is curious how a figure who was so ready to hurl insults at others was so sensitive to attacks on himself! Many of his associates including Frances Perkins (she talked too much), Henry Wallace (he was incapable of running the Department of Agriculture), and James Byrnes (he was sly) come under his acid attack as do Republicans like Thomas E. Dewey. Dewey's presidential ambitions are disposed of with "... I can't in my heart believe that the people of the country will ever take him. He is small and insignificant and he makes too much of an effort, with his forced smile and jovial manner, to impress himself upon people. To me he is a political streetwalker accosting men with 'come home with me, dear'" (III, 91).

Ickes was a forthright, able government servant and a magnificent gladiator. He loved to hurl insults both in public and in his diary. These volumes are sprinkled with such insults but, at the same time, they contain much fascinating inside information on cabinet meetings and the formation of governmental policies. The historian, however, will have to doublecheck the accuracy of some of the information since Ickes enjoyed gossip and naturally presented only what he

knew and heard. These volumes will grieve some people and they will be the basis for much controversy about the years from 1936 to 1941.

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

AMERICA'S RISE TO WORLD POWER, 1898-1954. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xviii, 314. \$5.00.)

ONE of the more highly respected titles in the old "American Nation Series" was J. H. Latané's *America as a World Power*, which covered the nine horse-and-buggy years from 1898 to 1907. The editors of "The New American Nation Series" now present Foster R. Dulles' volume under essentially the same title—a somewhat misleading title which conveys the impression that the United States did not "emerge" as a "world power" until 1898, when Dewey's booming guns awakened startled foreigners to the nation's new role. Actually, the United States was a force in international affairs from the date of its official birth in 1776; and by numerous tests it had clearly become a *great* power quite some while before the spectacular coming-out party staged by Dewey at Manila.

Mr. Dulles labors under two handicaps that did not beset Mr. Latané, at least not to the same degree. First, he has to keep out of the way to some extent of the ten or so other volumes in the series that are covering the same half-century. Second, he has scarcely more space than had Latané in which to deal with six times as many years, many of them jet-propulsion years in which events tumbled over one another in agonizing profusion. The resulting selectiveness has perhaps inevitably produced an impression of thinness.

Basically the book is a review of American diplomatic history and foreign policy since 1898, with major focus on the titanic clash between the isolationists and the non-isolationists. There is little or no pretense of dirt-farming research among the manuscripts or published documents, and the footnotes run rather heavily to the better-known secondaries. A reader reasonably familiar with the story is repeatedly reminded that he has traveled this way before.

The author writes with smoothness and urbanity, and he keeps his personal predilections fairly well to himself. But it is evident that he is disposed to break a lance for the Yalta agreements and to refute propaganda charges that China went down the Communist drain because of treachery in the State Department. By inference he identifies himself as a middle-of-the-road internationalist who silently applauds the discomfiture of the isolationists, from Hoar to Hoover. But he does not go so far as his editors, Messrs. Commager and Morris, who rather optimistically rejoice in their introduction that the ideological struggle is all over but the shouting.

In short, this is a useful and attractive overview, more noteworthy for breadth than depth, more distinguished for journalistic facility than scholarly originality.

It contains few fundamental facts that cannot be found in a standard college textbook on recent American diplomatic history: for example, Samuel Flagg Bemis' more lengthy and similarly titled *The United States as a World Power*. Mr. Dulles' most important contributions are in synthesis, emphasis, and readability.

Stanford University

THOMAS A. BAILEY

THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA. By *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 272. \$4.75.)

APPROXIMATELY the first half of this lucid and lively book is devoted to a historical survey of Argentina up to the rise of Perón with chapters devoted to land and people, economic and social, political, and cultural developments. The latter part of the book relates how the Argentine dictator came into power, consolidated his position, and how he has struggled with manifold problems since 1946. Relations with the United States are taken up mainly in two chapters: one covering the subject up to World War II and the other the postwar period.

Little can be said here about the first part of the book except to praise the author's skill and good judgment in compressing the essentials of a long story into brief compass. It is more than a mere outline. Facts are marshaled to bring out important general points: the colonial backwardness and disunity of the area, the great changes brought about by immigration and agricultural progress in the late nineteenth century, and the failure of the country to deal effectively with the problems created by these changes before the rise of Perón. The opposition of Argentine and United States policies toward Western Hemisphere regionalism is brought out as are particular issues which have created friction between the two countries, but the author rightly insists on the comparative unimportance of these relations to both countries until recently. They did increase in significance during the decade before the Second World War, and Professor Whitaker's treatment of the diplomatic conflicts of the period is fresh, thorough, and discerning in spite of its brevity.

The author, like others who have written on this subject in this country, brings out the combination of factors which enabled Perón to emerge as a dominant figure in Argentina between 1943 and 1945: army and labor support, skillful political tactics, and a winning personality. More than other writers, however, he stresses the roots of the new regime in the Argentine past. The Rosas cult had revived a tradition of authoritarian leadership; Hipólito Irigoyen had inveighed against "the oligarchy" long before Perón took up the theme; Perón's foreign policy followed in many ways a long-established national tradition. This view is a corrective to interpretations of present-day Argentina which magnify foreign inspiration and influence (Marxist or Fascist).

The author's tone is cool and detached. He is not reticent about calling a spade

a spade, but he is sparing in his use of adjectives. He presents clearly the gyrations of United States policy since 1943 toward Argentina. There is no explicit condemnation of either, but the weaknesses of the "crackdown" school (Hull and Braden) seem to get more attention than the inconsistencies and failures of the "appeasers" (Rockefeller and his successors). There is no effort here, however, to argue the pros and cons of either policy for the future. If there is any escape from the dilemma between intervention (or rather interference) and nonintervention (indifference), Professor Whitaker does not guide us to it. Cordial relations with authoritarian regimes create skepticism abroad about the sincerity of our enthusiasm for liberty; on the other hand, interference immediately brings accusations of imperialism. It is implicit, though not explicit, in the author's thought that we might well have walked the knife-edge of policy between the two alternatives with much greater skill than we did.

Professor Whitaker sees little likelihood of sweeping change in the near future. Perón remains popular with a majority of Argentines, and opposition groups are deeply divided. The regime has discarded some of its extreme policies aimed at economic self-sufficiency since weathering the depression of 1951 and 1952. Since the death of Eva Duarte de Perón the proletarian influence within the government appears to have been weakened. The United States, in view of its absolute preoccupation with the present all-overshadowing conflict with the USSR and Communist China, is likely to continue its efforts to get along as well as it can with Perón, in spite of his refusal to budge from his policy of playing Washington off against Moscow and following an opportunistic and shifting position somewhere between the two opposing major powers. As the author points out, the only group that might conceivably replace him is even less likely to co-operate with Washington than Perón.

This is a provocative as well as a well-informed and competent study. Its usefulness is enhanced by an end-paper map of Argentina and an extensive critical bibliography.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE FRENCH CANADIANS, 1760-1945. By *Mason Wade*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1955. Pp. xvi, 1136. \$6.50.)

THIS is the most extensive survey of the history of the French Canadians yet undertaken. In the author's words, it is "an attempt to explain why the French Canadians live, think, act, and react differently from English-speaking North Americans." The effort is largely successful, though the general outlines are not notably different from those found in many other descriptions of the molding of the French-Canadian character.

The book is a fulfillment of the promise of the author's brief survey, *The French Canadian Outlook*, published in 1946. It gives evidence of years of careful,

critical study of secondary works and of basic materials. Mr. Wade has investigated a tremendous mass of printed and manuscript materials, and he has evaluated his information with a high degree of objectivity.

One striking aspect of the work is the degree of stress it places upon the history of Canada in more recent times. Only forty-six pages are devoted to New France, while over half of the volume is concerned with the twentieth century. This distribution of emphasis is probably justified, for Mr. Wade provides a great deal of fresh detail on French Canadian nationalism in the period which has not been so intensively investigated as the "classical" era of New France.

Inevitably in a discussion of such large scope as the author has undertaken, generalizations will be made with which other students will quarrel. In the judgment of this reviewer, Mr. Wade is least effective in his discussion of the characteristics of the imperial policy in the nineteenth century. It is highly questionable, for example, that Disraeli "had long regarded the 'wretched colonies' as a 'millstone round our necks'" (pp. 453-54). Disraeli's imperialism has often been overdrawn, but his outlook can hardly be described on the basis of this petulant remark made in a moment of irritation in 1852. Earl Grey cannot with justification be so easily characterized as "one of the new doctrinaire free-traders with little regard for the fate of the colonies" (p. 278). The statement that the "authority of the [Hudson's Bay] company declined [in the 1850's] after the renewal of its charter was refused in London" (p. 395) involves a serious misinterpretation of the meaning of A. S. Morton from whom the information was derived. Such generalizations as these mar an otherwise excellent work.

Mr. Wade writes well and often brilliantly. At times, however, the narrative sags with the introduction of excessively long quotations or summaries of speeches and writings, or of mere chronicles of events. All these elements are necessary to Mr. Wade's elaboration of his theme, but the narrative could be improved by greater integration, particularly in his discussions of the twentieth century.

These criticisms do not detract from the essential soundness of the work. It is by far the best account of the French Canadians which has yet appeared. As such, it should be read not only by historians of Canada but by all, historians and non-historians alike, who desire a better understanding of the distinctive characteristics of a people whose peculiarities have too often been the subject of polemics rather than of the judicial analysis which Mr. Wade provides.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

ORIENTALISM AND HISTORY. Edited by *Denis Sinor*. (Cambridge, Eng., W. Heffer and Sons, 1954, pp. viii, 107, 7s. 6d.) This little book was planned by Mr. Sinor, the energetic secretary general of the 23d International Congress of Orientalists, as a contribution to the success of that organization, which met in Cambridge toward the end of August, 1954. The co-authors are all men of eminence in their fields: the late Henri Frankfort on the ancient Near East, Bernard Lewis on Islam, J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw on India, Edwin G. Pulleyblank on China, and the editor of the volume on Central Eurasia. Stressing basic environmental factors—geography, ecology, trade relations, etc.—and emphasizing cultural rather than political developments, all five collaborators have done an excellent job, marred only superficially by signs of haste in writing and numerous misprints. Aside from Frankfort, who was handicapped in this respect by dealing with the beginnings of civilization, all the authors lay stress on native historical writing and modern efforts to master the complex materials involved. Professional historians will thus find the book not only interesting as a survey of ethnic and cultural histories but also as a description of the tasks which face the historian who deals with these widely distributed areas. There are surprisingly few clichés and stereotypes. Frankfort occasionally alludes to factors involving ethnic psychology, where his interest in philosophical idealism takes him out of the domain of objective history into an uncharted mist of ideas. Van Lohuizen derives practically all Indian higher culture from Indian sources (p. 38) and attributes too much political importance to traditions of religious nonviolence (p. 48). However, it is a rare pleasure to read an English book of such composite authorship without noting a single Marxist cliché or communist innuendo. Sinor deserves our hearty thanks.

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Johns Hopkins University*

L'UMANESIMO AL CONCILIO DI TRENTO. By *Giuseppe Toffanin*. Appendix: *M. Gerolamo Vida*, ELOGIO DELLO STATO (*De rei publicae dignitate*), translated by *Antonio Altamura*. (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1955, pp. 228, L. 2000.) Marco Girolamo Vida's *De rei publicae dignitate* is ostensibly the record of a debate between himself and the poet Marcantonio Flaminio held in a villa near Trent in the presence of Pole and other leaders of the Catholic Reformation on the eve of the first session of the Council. Its immediate subject was the utility of the state, which Flaminio, otherwise suspect for his association with the Valdés circle, denied in words suggestive of Rousseau, and which Vida defended. The present volume consists largely of a useful edition of the Latin text of the dialogue, together with Altamura's Italian translation; Toffanin's *L'Umanesimo al Concilio di Trento* is, in fact, an introductory essay which, however, raises questions of fundamental importance. Toffanin applies to the interpretation of Vida's dialogue, and then to the broader question of the relations between humanism and the Catholic Reformation, his by now familiar views on the orthodox purposes of the humanist movement. Vida's refutation of Flaminio signalizes, in his view, the alliance of antique reason with Catholicism against Protestant individualism, the mobilization of humanism in the service of the Counter Reformation. Toffanin states the case with his usual enthusiasm, and the growing number of students already at least half convinced by his earlier works will find this new application of his position of considerable interest.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of Illinois*

PANACEA OR PRECIOUS BANE: TOBACCO IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE. By *Sarah Augusta Dickson*. [Arents Tobacco Collection, Publication No. 5.] (New York, New York Public Library, 1954, pp. xiv, 227.) For nearly 350 years tobacco has been an important article of commerce as well as a subject of controversy. The literature on tobacco is voluminous and embraces many languages, but, thanks to the magnificent collection brought together by Mr. George Arents and now in the New York Public Library, scholars have access to all of the significant documents throwing light on this extraordinary weed. And now, through the labors of Miss Sarah Augusta Dickson, curator of the Arents Tobacco Collection, we have an excellent book that analyzes the early literature of the subject and illuminates many problems, bibliographical and botanical. Of all the vegetable products of the New World, tobacco and potatoes had the greatest impact upon the economy of Europe. Of these tobacco made the earliest impression. Columbus' sailors observed that the Indians used tobacco, and the first literary reference to tobacco, Miss Dickson believes, is the published account of Amerigo Vespucci in 1505 in which he told of Indians chewing tobacco—if that was the green herb mentioned. At any rate, Europeans began not only to observe but to imitate. Folklore attributes to Walter Raleigh the introduction of tobacco—and potatoes—into England, but John Hawkins had earlier contacts with the tobacco-using natives and probably introduced it to his countrymen, for it was known in England before 1570. It was the product that saved the economy of the infant colony at Jamestown; John Rolfe about 1612 began experimenting with its cultivation, and within the next decade tobacco had become a money crop of increasing importance. Even King James, who had written his famous *Counterblaste to Tobacco* in 1604, was constrained to modify his views when he discovered that it promised to bring prosperity to the struggling colony. Much of England's colonial effort was directed to finding a source for commodities that she traditionally had to buy from her enemies: silk, wine, olive oil, dates, raisins, and other tropical products. In this she failed, but in tobacco, hitherto unknown to commerce, she found a commodity destined to bring great profit to her merchants. The controversy over whether tobacco was a beneficent or harmful drug began early and has continued to the present time. To many Europeans, the New World held the promise of the earthly paradise and all the good things to be found therein. The cure for every ailment of mankind might be obtained from the products of America, and, to many a writer, tobacco was clearly one of the herbs holding out this hope. But the opponents of tobacco were equally certain that it was the devil's weed, employed by heathen priests in their incantations, and likely to poison and lure to hell any who used it. Miss Dickson has provided a guide to these varied views and has supplied abundant documentation. In the course of her research on tobacco she has unearthed a great deal of fascinating material on related subjects and she manages to impart an extraordinary amount of information about botany, folklore, and other matters that impinge on her main topic. She also provides a useful bibliography, some interesting illustrations, and a serviceable index. LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Folger Library*

DEUTSCHER GEIST UND ANGELSÄCHSISCHE GEISTESGESCHICHTE: EIN VERSUCH DER DEUTUNG IHRES VERHÄLTNISSSES. By *Klaus Dockhorn*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 17.] (Göttingen, Muster-schmidt, 1954, pp. 85, DM 7.80.) Germany's resurgent interests in demonstrating her positive intellectual influences within the Anglo-Saxon world are understandable. Professor Dockhorn undertakes to dispel Troeltsch's view that from their beginning Germany's Lutheranism and England's Puritanism accentuated their intellectual opposition. Troeltsch is credited with having made two acute observations about Anglicanism and the "self-adjustment" of English Liberalism. However, he is blamed for having

"neglected" to develop these notions. So, Dockhorn proceeds to set them into proper perspective. He succeeds to the extent that he exploits every aspect of historiography and cites groups of intellectual leaders who were influential. At times, the individuals juxtaposed seem incongruous, though these "Bausteine" will be exploited by future builders of the full edifice. That Professor Dockhorn has published extensively upon Anglo-German intellectual relations explains his frequent use of Anglicisms or English words and phrases. It also attests to his familiarity with original source materials in English and American intellectual history. He lists many examples to prove direct cultural interrelationships. We cite one British and one American example: Hegelianism pervaded British theology so extensively that of the "six Archbishops of Canterbury between 1869 and 1945, four . . . were acknowledged Hegelians, while [the other] two were . . . in agreement with German theology. . . ." Nineteenth-century America Dockhorn characterizes as the "German century of American education." He is persuasive because he includes all the American leaders and movements historiographically imaginable. He pleads with German historiography not to reject or to scorn American methods or intellectual contributions. LOUIS KESTENBERG, *University of Houston*

THE INFLUENCE OF FORCE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS. By Captain W. D. Puleston, U.S.N. (Retired). (New York, D. Van Nostrand, 1955, pp. vii, 254, \$4.50.) One may as well begin with the concluding sentence of this text, which emanates from lectures given in 1945: ". . . if the United Nations preserved world peace for eighty years, only interplanetary invaders could rejuvenate citizens of our world." "The United Nations could easily evolve into the most powerful military despotism the world has known" (p. 235). Puleston weaves force, war, civilization, and Christianity in a most disconcerting manner. His is a book of controversial opinions and conclusions. It seems better, in brief compass, to note only the major ones. Very few recent military or civilian leaders—except Admiral Ernest J. King, to whom the book is dedicated—escape Captain Puleston's criticisms of our military and psychological preparedness for war and our lack of diplomatic and military co-ordination which are his cogent reasons for "failure." He considers "well-proved" the "balance of power" and "the concert of Great Powers," which he seems to consider, along with "voluntary arbitration," the best means to prevent global wars (p. 232). The idea of waiting to be attacked, historically a freak pinned on Roosevelt, is suicidal. Puleston does not argue, however, for a preventive war or "sneak attack." Explanations to Congress reveal fundamental strategy, "but a tactical surprise is always possible provided the armed forces are not required, as they were in December 1941, to wait until the enemy has struck the first blow" (p. 117). He strongly urges the buildup of American defenses and believes that these measures can make a difference; he does not accept the idea that there will be no victors in the next war. He laments the subordination of military to civilians in World War II. He argues persuasively against the concept of unity of command. "Of all catch phrases, 'unity of command' has propagated the most dangerous ideas. . . . The establishment of the Department of National Defense is the natural climax of this doctrinaire idea . . ." (p. 172). He cautions the air force not to overestimate its weapons. "The air debacle in Luzon on the first day of war is more humiliating to America's Armed Forces and the High Command in Washington than the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor" (p. 96). Unconditional surrender of an army, but not a state, may be necessary. He warns against the multiple ownership of trust territories in the Pacific. This is a trenchant, sometimes salty, volume. I doubt whether it will have the impact of Clausewitz, Mackinder, or Mahan, but it injects forcefully the concept of force into the current debates. RICHARD H. HEINDEL, *University of Buffalo*

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. By Yasaka Takagi. (Tokyo, Kenyusha, 1954, pp x, 180, 250 yen.) This volume should be pondered by all who are concerned for a meeting of minds between East and West. Dr. Yasaka Takagi, recently retired after thirty years as Hepburn professor of American government and history in the University of Tokyo, has devoted his life to promoting fuller knowledge and understanding of the United States in Japan. A son of the late Baron Kanda, student in American universities in 1919-1921, a Christian and a liberal, sincere friend of the United States and loyal citizen of his own country, no one is better qualified than Dr. Takagi to serve as interpreter. The volume is made up of twenty-one addresses, essays, and other writings between 1932 and 1952, of which nine have previously been printed, in whole or in part. In the articles of the thirties Dr. Takagi has tried to explain Japanese policies and public opinion with respect to Southeast Asia and Manchuria, comparing them with those of the United States as revealed in "manifest destiny," the Monroe Doctrine, "dollar diplomacy," the "open door" for China, the "good neighbor" policy, and the "American way of life." An article on "America's War Aims" deserves thoughtful reading for the light it sheds on the attitude of Japanese intellectuals. Of special interest are the articles which reveal the author's role in the early consideration of constitutional reform after the surrender, his exposition of the necessity of retaining the institution of the emperor, and his close co-operation with Prince Konoye, whose suicide was due to the unjust and unfounded charges made against him as a "war criminal." Many other matters receive attention, including the progress of American studies in Japan, the life and services of Nitobé, the danger of Communist infiltration, and changes in the United States observed during a postwar visit. Repeatedly Dr. Takagi insists on the vital importance for Japan of "spiritual rebirth and regeneration" and the ability to "grasp through Christianity the true spirit of democracy and peace based upon the ethical concept of individual personality."

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, *Washington, D. C.*

ARTICLES

- RODOLFO MONDOLFO. Historia de la filosofía e historia de la cultura. *Imago mundi*, Mar., 1955.
- BRUCE WATERS. The Past and the Historical Past. *Jour. Philos.*, May 12, 1955.
- DONALD C. WILLIAMS. More on the Ordinarity of History. *Ibid.*
- EDWARD PESSEN. Can the Historian Be Objective? *Bull. Association of American Colleges*, May, 1955.
- GEORGES LEFEBVRE. Quelques réflexions sur l'histoire des civilisations. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. Toynbee's Study of History: The Place of Civilization in History. *Internat. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- RAYMOND ARON. Nationen und Ideologien. *Aussenpolitik*, May, 1955.
- HANS ROTHFELS. Sinn und Grenzen des Primats der Aussenpolitik. *Ibid.*
- THILO VOGELSANG. Die Zeitgeschichte und ihre Hilfsmittel. *Vierteljahrsh. für Zeitgesch.*, Apr., 1955.
- PAUL KLUKE. Aufgaben und Methode zeitgeschichtlicher Forschung. *Europa-Archiv*, Apr. 5, 1955.
- M. A. JASPAN. Negro Culture in Southern Africa before European Conquest. *Science and Society*, Summer, 1955.
- CARMINE JANNACO. Introduzione ai critici del Seicento. *Convivium*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- ERIC FISCHER. Rebellion against the European Man in the Nineteenth Century. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- A. R. MYERS. Parliaments in Europe: The Representative Tradition. Part I. *Hist. Today*, June, 1955.
- T. W. HUTCHISON. Insularity and Cosmopolitanism in Economic Ideas, 1870-1914. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- JUAN MANTOVANI. La educación popular en América: Historia de una idea. *Imago mundi*, Mar., 1955.
- CUSHING STROUT. The Twentieth-Century Enlightenment. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.

Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

THE SWORD AND THE CROSS. By Robert M. Grant, University of Chicago. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. 144, \$2.75.) Briefly but competently, Professor Grant has surveyed the attitude of the Roman state toward foreign religions, from the early Republic to the fourth Christian century. Not Christianity alone but the Bacchic and Isiac cults as well knew governmental hostility, for Rome regarded all non-Roman forms of worship as a potential threat to its own traditions. Yet, as a parallel to Maecenas' "Hate and punish those who introduce foreign gods," the state indulged in a sporadic acceptance of gods other than its own. By 433 B.C., the Greek Apollo had his temple outside the *pomerium* of Rome. It is this other attitude which in the end made for the toleration of the Church. Unfortunately, for two centuries and more, Rome did not really know what Christianity was. In ignorance, it persecuted what it deemed a danger to itself. Dr. Grant suggests that, had information been more adequate and had toleration come with Trajan rather than with Galerius, the state might have got for itself the services of those it needed most. The book, though scholarly, is written without the scholar's apparatus. Mention is made in the references of Grégoire's *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain* without notice of the serious criticism of Grégoire in De Moreau's "Le nombre des martyrs des persécutions romaines" (*Nouvelle revue théologique*, 1951, pp. 812-32) and in Griffe's "Les persécutions dans l'empire romain" (*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 1952, pp. 129-160). Dr. Grant's essay is not without its share of propositions open to debate. Thus his suggestion that the Apocalypse of John occasioned strong governmental repression of Christians (pp. 59, 138) is not actually demonstrable. Septimius Severus' edict prohibiting proselytism is here attributed partially (p. 105) to Severus' desire to protect his son Caracalla from the influence of a Christian nurse; J. G. Davies (*Journal of Theological Studies*, V [1954], 73-76) has suggested a likelier cause for the enactment in Severus' devotion to the god Serapis. Unfortunately, in the statement "it seems necessary to suppose that some explicit legislation was provided either by an emperor or by the Senate" (p. 57) there is no hint that the question of the legal basis for the Roman persecutions is still very much under discussion, as will be seen from Sherwin-White's "The Early Persecutions and Roman Law Again" (*Jour. Theol. Stud.*, III [1952], 199-213) and Borleff's "Institutum Neronianum" (*Vigiliae Christianae*, VI [1952], 129-45).

HENRY G. J. BECK, *Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, N. J.*

GENERAL ARTICLES

- GRAHAME CLARK. The Economic Approach to Prehistory. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIX, 1953.
 R. NORTH. Metallurgy in the Ancient Near East. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
 EBERHARD OTTO. Altägyptische Zeitvorstellungen und Zeitbegriffe. *Welt als Gesch.*, Heft 3-4, 1954.
 YIGAL YADIN. The Earliest Record of Egypt's Military Penetration into Asia. *Israel Exploration Jour.*, V, no. 1, 1955.
 SIEGFRIED SCHOTT. Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Aegyptens. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.
 CHARLES F. NIMS. Places about Thebes. *Ibid.*
 F. R. KRAUS. Provinzen des neusumerischen Reiches von Ur. *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, May, 1955.
 ALBRECHT ALT. Beziehungen zu Ägypten in den Briefen von Mari? *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, LXX, Heft 2, 1954.
 R. H. PFEIFFER. The Fear of God. *Israel Exploration Jour.*, V, no. 1, 1955.
 JACOB MILGROM. The Date of Jeremiah, Chapter 2. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

- LEROY WATERMAN. Hosea, Chapters 1-3, in Retrospect and Prospect. *Ibid.*
- HAROLD H. ROWLEY. Nehemiah's Mission and Its Background. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Mar., 1955.
- KURT GALLING. Zur Lokalisierung von Debir. *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, LXX, Heft 2, 1954.
- B. COUROYER. A propos des dépôts de manuscrits dans des jarres. *Rev. Biblique*, Jan., 1955.
- M. DELCOR. Contribution à l'étude de la législation des Sectaires de Damas et de Qumrân. *Ibid.*
- ERNST Bammel. Die Bruderfolge im Hochpriestertum der herodianisch-römischen Zeit. *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, LXX, Heft 2, 1954.
- CHESTER G. STARR. The Myth of the Minoan Thalassocracy. *Historia*, III, Heft 3, 1955.
- MARTIN P. NILSSON. Das frühe Griechenland, von innen gesehen. *Ibid.*
- A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Gyges in Herodotus. *Class. Weekly*, Jan. 24, 1955.
- MARY WHITE. Greek Tyranny. *Phoenix*, Spring, 1955.
- GIOVANNI FERRARA. Solone e i capi del popolo. *Parola del Passato*, fasc. 38, 1954.
- M. HALBERSTADT. On Solon's "Eunomia" (Frg. 3 D). *Class. Weekly*, May 9, 1955.
- A. W. GOMME. Thucydides ii 13 3: An Answer to Professor Meritt. *Historia*, III, Heft 3, 1955.
- RAPHAEL SEALEY. The Peace of Kallias Once More. *Ibid.*
- JOACHIM SCHARF. Die erste ägyptische Expedition der Athener. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pentekontaetie. *Ibid.*
- A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Kimons Zurückberufung. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES EDSON. Strepas (Thucydides i. 61. 4). *Class. Philol.*, July, 1955.
- JAMES H. OLIVER. Praise of Periclean Athens as a Mixed Constitution. *Rhein. Mus.*, XCVIII, Heft 1, 1955.
- J. S. MORRISON. Socrates and Antiphon. *Class. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- J. DE ROMILLY. Les modérés athéniens vers le milieu du IV^e siècle. *Rev. études grec.*, July, 1954.
- DAVID M. LEWIS. The Public Seal of Athens. *Phoenix*, Spring, 1955.
- R. H. SIMPSON. Ptolemaus' Invasion of Attica in 313 B.C. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, Vol. VIII, fasc. 1, 1955.
- MORTIMER HARDIN CHAMBERS. The Twelve Gods at Cos. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- F. E. ADCOCK. Greek and Macedonian Kingship. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIX, 1953.
- PAUL PEDECH. Polybiana. *Rev. études grec.*, July, 1954.
- RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Les mystères grecs et les religions à mystères de l'antiquité. Recherches récentes et problèmes nouveaux. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- RODOLFO MONDOLFO. The Greek Attitude to Manual Labour. *Past and Present*, Nov., 1954.
- CLAIRE PRÉAUX. Sur des fonctions du πρῶτος γενναῖος. *Chron. d'Egypte*, Jan., 1955.
- JOHANN HERRMANN. Zum Begriff γῆ ἐν ἀφ᾽ ἑσῆ. *Ibid.*
- ULRICH KAHRSTEDT. Palaiskepsis und verwandte Ortsnamen. *Historia*, III, Heft 3, 1955.
- HERMANN BENGTSOHN. Skylax von Karyanda und Herakleides von Mylasa. *Ibid.*
- G. DUMÉZIL. Ordre, fantaisie, changement dans les pensées archaïques de l'Inde et de Rome. *Rev. études lat.*, XXXII, 1954.
- E. BENVENISTE. Pubes et Publicus. *Rev. Philol.*, LXXXI, fasc. 1, 1955.
- G. KLAFFENBACH. Der römisch-ätolische Bündnisvertrag von Jahre 212 v. Chr. *Sitz.-Ber. deutsch. Akad. Wissensch. Berlin*, 1954, no. 1.
- E. Badian. L. Papirius Fregellanus. *Class. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- Id.* The Date of Pompey's First Triumph. *Hermes*, LXXXIII, Heft 1, 1955.
- GILBERT BAGNANI. Sullani Manes and Lucan's Rhetoric. *Phoenix*, Spring, 1955.
- S. JANNACONNE. Divinazione e culto ufficiale nel pensiero di Cicerone. *Latomus*, Jan., 1955.
- M. RUCH. Météorologie, astronomie et astrologie chez Cicéron. *Rev. études lat.*, XXXII, 1954.
- STEWART IRVIN OOST. Cato *Uticensis* and the Annexation of Cyprus. *Class. Philol.*, Apr., 1955.
- E. SANDER. Die reform des römischen Heerwesens durch Julius Cäsar. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Apr., 1955.
- KARL BARWICK. Kleine Studien zu Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*. *Rhein. Mus.*, XCVIII, Heft 1, 1955.
- MICHEL RAMBAUD. Le soleil de Pharsale. *Historia*, III, Heft 3, 1955.
- CARL KOCH. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Venus-Verehrung. *Hermes*, LXXXIII, Heft 1, 1955.
- J. COLIN. Luxe oriental et parfums masculins dans la Rome Alexandrine (d'après Cicéron et Lucrèce). *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.*, XXXII, no. 1, 1955.

- ANDREAS ALFÖLDI. Isiskult und Umsturzbewegung im letzten Jahrhundert der römischen Republik. *Schweitzer Münzblätter*, Dec., 1954.
- HEIDI M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER. Verwendung und Bedeutung der Porträtgemmen für das politische Leben der römischen Republik. *Mus. Helvet.*, Apr., 1955.
- E. BOLAFFI. La "dottrina del buon governo" presso i Romani e le origini del principato in Roma fino ad Augusto compreso. *Latomus*, Jan., 1955.
- JOCelyn M. C. TOYNBEE. The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIX, 1953.
- KARL MEISTER. Der Bericht des Tacitus über die Landung des Germanicus in der Emsmündung. *Hermes*, LXXXIII, Heft 1, 1955.
- L. COSIMI. Sénèque et la langue des Corses (Cons. à Helvia 7, 8-9). *Rev. études lat.*, XXXII, 1954.
- RUDOLF HANSLIK. Die Augustusvita Suetons. *Wiener Stud.*, LXVII, 1954.
- F. CASTAGNOLI. Note di topografia romana. *Bull. comunale*, LXXIV (1951-52), 1954.
- ERIC BIRLEY. Senators in the Emperor's Service. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIX, 1953.
- JOH. FRIEDRICH. Römische Beamtenbezeichnungen in punischen Inschriften Tripolitaniens. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 2, 1955.
- HENRI SEYRIG. Antiquités syriennes, 55. Le grand-prêtre de Dionysios à Byblos. 56. Éres pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie. 57. Questions héliopolitaines. *Syria*, XXXI, nos. 1-2, 1954.
- ARNULF KUSCHKE. Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bikā'. *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, LXX, Heft 2, 1954.
- ALBRECHT ALT. Stationen der römischen Hauptstrasse von Ägypten nach Syrien. *Ibid.*
- GEROLD WALSER. Zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte des Wallis im Altertum. *Schweizer Beitr. z. allgem. Gesch.*, 1954.
- R. REMONDON. Problèmes militaires en Egypte et dans l'Empire à la fin du iv siècle. *Rev. hist.*, Jan., 1955.
- DENIS VAN BERCHEM. On Some Chapters of the *Notitia Dignitatum* Relating to the Defence of Gaul and Britain. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1955.
- KENNETH JACKSON. The Britons in Southern Scotland. *Antiquity*, June, 1955.
- ROGER RÉMONDON. L'Edit XIII de Justinien a-t-il été promulgué en 539? *Chron. d'Egypte*, Jan., 1955.
- J. DUPONT. Notes sur les Actes des Apôtres. *Rev. Biblique*, Jan., 1955.
- FREDERIC A. SCHILLING. The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress. *Anglican Theol. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- R. G. HEARD. The Old Gospel Prologues. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.
- BRUCE M. METZGER. Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan., 1955.
- F.-M. BRAUN. L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance. *Rev. Biblique*, Jan., 1955.
- J. G. DAVIES. Tertullian: *De Resurrectione Carnis* LXIII. A Note on the Origins of Montanism. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROGER PACK. An Onocephalic Mask. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan., 1955.
- H. CHADWICK. The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople: A Prologue to the Council of Chalcedon. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.
- S. GIET. Saint Basile et le Concile de Constantinople de 360. *Ibid.*
- K. H. KUHN. A Fifth Century Egyptian Abbot. III. Besa's Christianity. *Ibid.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- MARIANNE DORESSE. Les temples atoniens de la région thébaine. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 2, 1955.
- JEAN LECLANT. Fouilles et travaux au Sudan, 1951-1954. *Ibid.*
- H. J. LENZEN. Mesopotamische Tempelanlagen von der Frühzeit bis zum zweiten Jahrtausend. *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, May, 1955.
- E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. How Representations of Battles of the Gods Developed. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
- Id.* The Sun-God Rising. *Rev. assyriol.*, XLIX, no. 1, 1955.
- CLAUDE F.-A. SCHAEFFER. Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Quinzième, seizième et dix-septième campagnes (1951, 1952 et 1953). *Syria*, XXXI, nos. 1-2, 1954.

- S. YEIVIN. Archaeology in Israel (November 1951-January 1953). *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr., 1955.
- J. PERROT. The Excavations at Tell Abu Matar near Beersheba. *Israel Exploration Jour.*, V, no. 1, 1955.
- H. H. VON DER OSTEN and A. POHL. Vorkriegsbegrabungen in der Hethiterhauptstadt. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
- JOHN L. CASKEY. Excavations at Lerna, 1954. *Hesperia*, Jan., 1954.
- HOMER A. THOMPSON. Activities in the Athenian Agora, 1954. *Ibid.*
- R. M. BUTLER. The Ruin of Thésée. *Antiquity*, June, 1955.
- F. DE VISSCHER and J. MERTENS. Les puits du Forum d'Alba Fucense. *Bull. comunale*, LXXIV (1951-52), 1954.

INSCRIPTIONS, COINS, PAPYRI

- A. MASSART. Propriété et fisc sous la XX^e dynastie (Le Papyrus Wilbour). *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
- A. L. OPPENHEIM. "Siege-Documents" from Nippur. *Iraq*, Spring, 1955.
- E. SOLLBERGER. Le galet B d'Enanatumu I^{er}. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
- MAURICE BRIOT. Textes économiques de Mari (III). *Rev. assyriol.*, XLIX, no. 1, 1955.
- H. W. F. SAGGS. The Nimrud Letters, 1952. I. The Ukin-zer Rebellion and Related Texts. *Iraq*, Spring, 1955.
- E. EBELING. Kultische Texte aus Assur. *Orientalia*, XXIV, fasc. 1, 1955.
- EMMANUEL LAROCHE. Etudes sur les hiéroglyphes hittites. *Syria*, XXXI, nos. 1-2, 1954.
- EUGENE VANDERPOOL. New Inscriptions concerning Archilochus. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1955.
- WILLIAM A. McDONALD. A Linguistic Examination of an Epigraphical Formula. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr., 1955.
- W. PEREMANS and E. VAN'T DACK. A propos d'une inscription de Gortyn (Inscr. Cret. IV 208: Ptolémée Makron, Nouménios et Hippalos). *Historia*, III, Heft 3, 1955.
- JAMES H. OLIVER. The Date of the Pergamene Astynomic Law. *Hesperia*, Jan., 1955.
- ATTILIO DEGRASSI. Le dediche di popoli e re asiatici al popolo romano e a Giove Capitolino. *Bull. comunale*, LXXIV (1951-52), 1954.
- H. MATTINGLY. Some New Studies of Roman Republican Coinage. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIX, 1953.
- ANDREAS ALFÖLDI. Studien zur Zeitfolge der Münzprägung der römischen Republik. *Schweiz. Numismat. Rundschau*, XXXVI, 1954.
- ARTHUR E. GORDON. On the Date of the Consul Suffect, A.D. 15. *Class. Philol.*, July, 1955.
- Id.* Vespasian and Titus as Consuls, A.D. 70. *Ibid.*
- HUBERT METZGER. Vier griechische Papyrusurkunden aus der Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer in Wien. *Schweizer Beitr. z. allgem. Gesch.*, 1954.
- L. R. LIND. Nine Inscriptions and a Roman Brick Stamp in Kansas. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr., 1955.
- J. M. R. CORMACK. Epigraphic Evidence for the Water Supply of Aphrodisias. *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, XLIX, 1954.
- J. GUEY. L'Apologie d'Apulée et les inscriptions de Tripolitaine. *Rev. études lat.*, XXXII, 1954.
- T. W. THACKER and R. P. WRIGHT. A New Interpretation of the Phoenician Graffito from Holt, Denbighshire. *Iraq*, Spring, 1955.
- MARGHERITA GUARDUCCI. L'Italia e Roma in una "Tabella Defixionis" greca. *Bull. comunale*, LXXIV (1951-52), 1954.
- PAOLINA MINGAZZINI. Un altro tentativo d'interpretazione dell' iscrizione di Velela. *Ibid.*
- B. R. REES. P. Merton I, 31—an additional Note. *Chron. d'Egypte*, Jan., 1955.
- ALBRECHT ALT. Neues über die Zeitrechnung der Inschriften des Hermongebiets. *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, LXX, Heft 2, 1954.
- JEAN BINGEN. Anses d'amphores de Crocodilopolis—Arsinoé. *Chron. d'Egypte*, Jan., 1955.
- DAVID MEREDITH. Eastern Desert of Egypt. Notes on Inscriptions: Corrigenda. *Chron. d'Egypte*, Jan., 1955.
- JACQUES SCHWARTZ. Les stèles de Terenouthis et la mort de Alexandre Sévère. *Ibid.*

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

HERRSCHERGESTALTEN DES DEUTSCHEN MITTELALTERS. By *Karl Hampe*. 6. Auflage durchgesehen und um einen Literaturanhang erweitert von *Hellmut Kämpf*. (Heidelberg, Quelle & Meyer, 1955, pp. 352, DM 13.80.) This book represents an attempt at outlining the evolution of the German Middle Ages, to be sure by leaps, through the biographies of outstanding Germanic rulers of varied origin—Ostrogothic, Frankish, Ottonian, Salian, Staufian, Guelph, Habsburg, and Luxemburg. Theoderic the Great, Charlemagne, Otto I, Henry IV, Frederic Barbarossa, the great dissenter Henry the Lion, Rudolph of Habsburg, and Charles IV are portrayed in their personalities and in the impact they had on the historical development of their periods. The present edition of the work, which first appeared in 1927, is a reprint of the second revised edition of 1933, prepared by Karl Hampe (d. 1936) himself. As against certain recent medieval studies which overinterpret texts and events and are written in an inflated style, the volume before us is a good example of solid scholarship and is composed in a dignified and cultivated German that makes for clear understanding and pleasant reading. The editor, Hellmut Kämpf, wisely abstains from changing Hampe's original text, though this can in some points be improved upon because of new findings made in a quarter century of intensive research in the field of political, and especially constitutional, history. The heroes of Hampe's historiography are not infrequently lone individuals and for the most part not always representative of their tribe and people; they hardly saw themselves in such a context. The suspicion of the "great man" which we harbor today separates us somewhat from this type of historical writing, but Kämpf's own contribution, "References to Recent Research" (pp. 316-52), effectively guides the reader toward the broader scope of present-day historical writing. Keeping in mind the unavoidable strictures imposed by research and time on the interpretation of the *Herrschergestalten*, one may nevertheless recommend this work of a renowned medievalist who even posthumously wields a lively influence through the reissuance of his books by devoted disciples. The tenth revised printing of Hampe's *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer* was edited by Friedrich Baethgen in 1949, and Gerd Tellenbach brought out the fourth edition of Hampe's well-written *Hochmittelalter* (900-1250) in 1953.

LUITPOLD WALLACH, *Cornell University*

DAS LETTENLAND IM MITTELALTER: STUDIEN ZUR OSTBALTISCHEN FRÜHZEIT UND LETTISCHEN STAMMESGESCHICHTE, INSBESONDERE LETTGALLENS. By *Manfred Hellmann*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Band I.] (Cologne, Böhlau, 1954, pp. xxii, 264, DM 19.80.) Much information concerning medieval Latvia can be found in this monograph, which was presented at the University of Freiburg to support the author's application for admission to lecturership. As is indicated by its subtitle, it treats the migrations and early history of the peoples in lowlands along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea from the mouth of the Neva to the lower course of the Niemen. Special attention is given to one of the Latvian tribes, the Latgallians, whose homes could be found north of the river Dvina. This is a rather remote territory and developments there were connected only by thin ties with the main course of European history. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Professor Rudolf Köttschke (d. 1949), who specialized in agrarian history of the Middle Ages investigating primarily problems of colonization of underdeveloped

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

areas. Dr. Hellmann's book is not designed as a chronological narrative and covers a large variety of topics. The first chapter briefly describes natural features of Latgale as well as the coming of tribal units into that region. Taking 1200 as the starting point the author deals in his second chapter with various facets of political and economic life in Latvian lands. The Latgallians had closer and livelier contacts with the Slavic and Lithuanian peoples than other Latvian tribes living nearer to the Baltic coast. From this mutual intercourse resulted some specific forms of economic and cultural life distinguishing Latgale from other tribal kingdoms. The third chapter sketches the trends of Latvian political and intellectual history and closes with a succinct account of the conquest of Latgale by the Teutonic Order. Inaugurating a new series of contributions to East European history, Dr. Hellmann's conscientious monograph bears witness to revived interest of German scholars in countries east of the German ethnic boundary. It was conceived before the Second World War but the first draft, temporarily lost, luckily recovered, was rewritten. According to the preface, the final version gives more space and emphasis to political and constitutional problems than the original study which, apparently under Kötzschke's influence, analyzed natural conditions in Latgale and its tribal institutions.

OTAKER ODLOZILIK, *University of Pennsylvania*

L'UNIVERSITÉ DE BOLOGNE ET LA PÉNÉTRATION DES DROITS ROMAIN ET CANONIQUE EN SUISSE AUX XIII^e ET XIV^e SIÈCLES. By S. Stelling-Michaud, Professeur à l'Université de Genève. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XVII.] (Geneva, E. Droz, 1955, pp. 322.) This work presents a summation of a large piece of research, many detailed parts of which have been published. Here is the synthesis bringing together all the parts in a delightfully lucid and highly readable form. The subject of the work is the *penetration* of the new legal sciences of Roman and canonical law and notarial practice as formulated and taught at the *studium generale* of Bologna, into the area generally comprised in modern Switzerland. After a splendid analysis of the formation of the university, Professor Stelling-Michaud investigated the little-used *Memorialia Communis* conserved in the State Archives of Bologna to identify some two hundred and twenty Swiss students who made various registered contracts during their student days. From this source, he gathered an immense amount of detail to be followed up by similar investigations in the libraries and archives of Switzerland. The result is the story of the men who studied at Bologna; of their student careers with ample data on their personal standing, the rents they paid, the manuscripts they bought and rented, and their teachers. When the student days ended, the author brings them to their respective careers in the church, the imperial, ducal, county, and municipal governments. He shows for historian and sociologist, step by step, the operation of the new legal and notarial science in the various parts of the Confederation; the changes in procedure wrought by the newly trained legal experts; and demonstrates, again step by step, where these new methods were received and where and what aspects were resisted. The thirteenth chapter, "Les officiaux de l'évêque, les fonctionnaires de l'officialité et les juges ecclésiastiques," is the best presentation of ecclesiastical courts at work yet to be found. This study, published by the Swiss government's Fund for Scientific Research, takes its place beside the classics of Swiss historiography.

SCHAFER WILLIAMS, *Washington, D. C.*

EXPEDICIO BILLARUM ANTIQUITUS: AN UNPUBLISHED CHAPTER OF THE SECOND BOOK OF THE MANNER OF HOLDING PARLIAMENTS IN ENGLAND. By Henry Elsynge, Clerk of the Parliaments. Edited by Catherine Strateman Sims, Associate Professor of History, Agnes Scott College. [Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Insti-

tutions, XVI.] (Louvain, Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1954, pp. li, 145, cloth \$3.90, paper \$2.90.) This treatise was written as the fifth chapter of a projected but never completed second book of Henry Elsynge's *The Manner of Holding Parliaments in England*, one of the best examples of seventeenth-century scholarship inspired by contemporary political interests. It is, as Professor Sims observes in an excellent introduction, as little affected by controversy as any work of its time. Even more important, it is the only extensive seventeenth-century account of parliamentary procedure on petitions and bills in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of equal interest are the lengthy sections on ordinances and statutes. In contrast with many of the parliamentarians of his day, Elsynge understood that valid parliamentary legislation could result from action that did not include the Commons, and that valid legislation by the king and council could by-pass parliament. On other points Elsynge exhibits scholarly forbearance, as when he admits that some of his conclusions rest on conjecture and common sense rather than evidence, although it is obvious throughout that he delights in finding ancient precedents for modern practice. Although Professor Sims acquits Elsynge of the charge of present-mindedness (notably for his understanding of the role of the Commons), it is clear that he shared his contemporaries' misunderstanding of the relationship between council and parliament and their belief in the very early if not original existence of separate houses of Lords and Commons. Except for an all-too-brief index, the work is admirably edited and provided with an adequate critical apparatus. It maintains the high standards of scholarship and interest of the series to which it is the third postwar contribution to be published or announced from American scholars.

ROBERT S. HOYT, *University of Minnesota*

THE LOST VILLAGES OF ENGLAND. By *Maurice Beresford*, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Leeds. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1954, pp. 445, \$12.00.) The author is to be complimented for the thoroughness with which he discusses a difficult subject. Not only has he searched a vast amount of contemporary documentary material for evidence relevant to deserted English villages but he has used other techniques to gain additional information. These include the use of aerial photographs and ordnance maps as well as physical inspection of many of the sites he describes. He has also done some minor excavation at a few of the sites he visited. The large number of maps, charts, and tables supplementing the text are evidence of Mr. Beresford's close appraisal of the many problems which are inherent in this research. Showing the existence of medieval villages which later disappeared is relatively easy compared to ascertaining when and why they were abandoned. The author shows that the major cause of the depopulation was the enclosure of arable land for sheep pasture during the years preceding 1550. Perhaps more attention should have been given to the causes of the abandonment of villages other than enclosures. In many cases, the actual date of the enclosure of a village is vague, since the evidence of the enclosure depended upon the testimony of witnesses who were often describing an event which had taken place generations before. This book shows that the archaeologist has not kept abreast with the historian in British medieval research, and illustrates how archaeology could make valuable contributions to our present knowledge. A pottery sequence, such as is used in our own Southwest, would help determine the date when many of the villages were deserted. Publication of a complete excavation of an English medieval village would furnish many details about the physical aspects of the village which are not available from contemporary sources. The full economic and social effects of the "Black Death" upon both the depopulation of villages and enclosures should be further explored. A complete bibliography would be helpful for the historian who intends to do related research in this field. On the whole, however, this volume is an

extremely well done study, and should serve not only as a valuable reference work but as an incentive for further research on the abandoned villages.

FLOYD W. SNYDER, *McGregor, Texas*

THE CRECY WAR: A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR FROM 1337 TO THE PEACE OF BRETAGNE, 1360. By Lieutenant-Colonel *Alfred H. Burne*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 366, \$7.00.) One important phase of the historian's task is to try to enter, as best he can, into the thinking of the historical figures whose actions are being described. For modern personalities who have left behind a voluminous correspondence this is easier than for medieval figures. In either case the exercise is one of historical imagination. Colonel Burne's contribution to a better understanding of the Hundred Years' War derives from his personal familiarity with the practical problems of soldiering and his ability to apply them in some detail to the events of the fourteenth century. Certain ordinary matters requiring common sense are features of military action in any century. Leaders must, for example, decide by what route to march from one place to the next. And always there are questions about food and supply. These may seem obvious to the point of banality, but the man who himself has had to deal with them in the field can imagine the nature of a military situation more readily than the academic scholar whose training, at best, makes him an arm-chair strategist. This volume is a fairly convincing reconstruction of medieval military thinking in action. By applying his imagination to particular situations and showing what alternative moves could have presented themselves to the opposing commanders the author makes the campaigns more vivid and comprehensible. Readers of the *English Historical Review* (1938) will be familiar with Colonel Burne's method as applied to the battle of Poitiers. He not only shows a practical sense for terrain but has made a personal study on the spot of various battlefields, even the less famous ones and those difficult of access. How much consideration one should give to the inevitable changes in six hundred years is an open question. But at more than one point the author makes impressive contribution to our understanding. The colonel is aware of the difficulties inherent in trying to extract military information from historical records offering scant data, reported at second hand to clerics by whom military information would not be viewed professionally. It is the colonel's understanding of military probabilities that gives value to his interpretation. When he tries to deal with the problem of numbers he is no more and no less convincing than other scholars. The reader may not always share the author's enthusiasms, but he should be grateful for a discussion which makes clearer the reason for Henry of Lancaster's great reputation in his own time, and for presenting the different theaters of operation in proper perspective as part of a war plan. RICHARD A. NEWHALL, *Williams College*

L'ARMÉE BOURGUIGNONNE DE 1465 A 1468. By Major *Charles Brustén*. Preface by *Vicomte Terlinden*. (Brussels, Editions Fr. van Muysewinkel, 1954? pp. xxxvii, 275, 51 plates.) The Burgundian army as it existed prior to the reorganization of 1470 was a typically fifteenth-century agglomeration of feudal levies, civic militia, foreign mercenaries—including large numbers of English archers—and a surprisingly efficient artillery train. The organization and operations of this unwieldy mass during the years 1465-1468 are the subjects of an interesting and valuable monograph by Belgian Major Charles Brustén. This study was awarded the Prix Vicomte Terlinden at the University of Louvain in 1953. For the most part Major Brustén's researches only confirm the long-held opinion about most fifteenth-century armies. They were hastily raised, ill-disciplined, inadequately supplied, frequently unpaid, and often poorly led. At the conclusion of a campaign, sometimes even before, such armies simply melted away. The tale is the same as that in the England of Edward IV or the France of Charles VII

before the organization of the Compagnies d'Ordonnance, except that here we have it in greater detail than usual. In addition to using standard works and the previously published sources, Major Brusten has diligently ransacked municipal archives throughout the Low Countries, where a good deal of hitherto unused material has been discovered. The volume also contains an excellent series of fifty-one plates, largely reproductions from contemporary manuscript miniatures which admirably illustrate the weapons and tactics of the day. The plates add considerably to the value of the work. It is necessary, however, to add a word of caution. Rejecting the conclusions of Delbrück and Lot regarding the size of medieval armies, Major Brusten is inclined to take the figures of the chroniclers pretty much at face value. I, for one, would hesitate to accept, without a muster-roll or some evidence of payment, Haynim's estimate of 22,000 archers for the Liège campaign of 1468. Even more doubtful, it seems to me, is Brusten's conclusion that for this campaign Duke Charles must have raised sixty to seventy thousand effectives of all arms. The author has indicated elsewhere that Charles frequently had great difficulty in finding pay for considerably smaller forces, and it is hard to imagine how an army of this size could have been supplied. Other conclusions are based on sounder evidence, and Major Brusten has contributed a valuable chapter to the history of fifteenth-century warfare.

JOHN H. BEELER, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

GIOVANNI GUICCIARDINI ED UN PROCESSO POLITICO IN FIRENZE (1431).

By *Margherita Antonelli Moriani*. Preface and Introduction by *Paolo Guicciardini*. (Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1954, pp. 148, L. 1.800, \$3.60.) This volume, part of a series of publications on the history of the Guicciardini family which we owe to the initiative of the late Conte Paolo Guicciardini, describes a minor episode in Florentine history. Giovanni Guicciardini was Florentine military commissioner in the war against Lucca during the summer of 1430; he was held responsible for the unfortunate outcome of this campaign and proceedings accusing him of treason and corruption were instituted against him. The author of this book shows that the process against Giovanni Guicciardini was motivated by the contrasts of Florentine domestic politics. Guicciardini was an opponent of the Medici, and their adherents used the occasion, when, temporarily, they had a majority in the Signoria, for destroying an enemy who possessed great influence among the people. Clarification of these connections has been made possible by the discovery, in the Guicciardini archives, of a manuscript in which Giovanni Guicciardini discusses and refutes the accusations raised against him. This document as well as protocols of the "Consulte e Pratiche" bearing on the issue are published in a lengthy appendix which comprises almost half of the book. The volume does not effect any significant modification or change in our picture of Florentine events in this period. As a concrete illustration, however, of the bitterness of the party struggle between the Albizzi and Medici, and of the methods used by the Medici in preparing their rise to power, the book has its value.

FELIX GILBERT, *Bryn Mawr College*

HUMANISTIC AND POLITICAL LITERATURE IN FLORENCE AND VENICE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE QUATTROCENTO: STUDIES IN CRITICISM AND CHRONOLOGY. By *Hans Baron*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. x, 223, \$4.75.) Long years of patient and perspicacious research have fructified in the current publication of works by Dr. Hans Baron, making this year one of exceptional importance for Italian Renaissance studies. The book before us is complementary to a more extended work, just published, entitled *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*. Though details are numerous and minute in this book, we are glad to say that Dr. Baron is not that sort of specialist who fails to see the woods for the trees.

Problems in chronology, authorship, textual authenticity are handled searchingly to discover the truth of event and circumstance; then, with "facts" established, we are led to more distant points of vantage and we gain the historical insight afforded by the more general perspective. The documentary revisions concern works of publicistic or humanistic character by Giovanni da Prato, Antonio Loschi, Cino Rinuccini, Coluccio Salutati, Gregorio Dati; over half the book concerns writings of the Florentine Leonardo Bruni; a brilliant final chapter reveals as forgery the bulk of the discourses against Florence by the Venetian doge Tommaso Mocenigo. From the whole we gain a new chronology for significant Italian political and humanistic literature of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Further, these documents give valuable historical information and supply a sustaining foundation for the author's conviction that Florentine humanism was transformed in original ways immediately after 1400. There was then added to the "uncompromising pioneering spirit of a new classicism" original elements of catalytic importance, to wit: (1) resistance to that surging Milanese despotism which threatened the independence of regional centers of politics and culture, and (2) the salvation of the "libertas Italiae" under Florence's championship. This recalls to us the assertion stressed by Jacob Burckhardt that it was not the revival of classical antiquity alone which achieved the conquest of the Western world but rather the union of that revival with the genius of the Italian people. In this spirit Dr. Baron links political and social and intellectual happenings in the first fervid years of the Quattrocento; as never before, this history comes alive.

ERNEST W. NELSON, *Duke University*

GENERAL AND POLITICAL

- THEODOR MAYER. Nekrolog: Alfons Dopsch. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Feb., 1955.
 KENNETH JACKSON. The Britons in Southern Scotland. *Antiquity*, June, 1955.
 ROBERT BOUTRUCHE. Histoire de France au moyen âge (v^e-xv^e siècles): publications des années 1947-1953, II. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
 LYNN WHITE, JR., ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ, HELEN M. CAM, LOREN C. MACKINNEY, HARRIET LATTIN, LUITPOLD WALLACH, and KENNETH J. CONANT. Symposium on the Tenth Century. *Medievalia et Humanistica*, IX, 1955.
 RICHARD MAYNE. East and West in 1054. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, no. 2, 1954.
 G. DESPY. Note complémentaire sur le diplôme de l'empereur Henri IV pour l'abbaye d'Andenne du 1^{er} juin 1101. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1-2, 1954.
 JOAN C. LANCASTER. The Coventry Forged Charters: A Reconsideration. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, Nov., 1954.
 L. WILLAERT. Le placet royal aux Pays-Bas (2^e partie et fin). *Rev. belge*, no. 4, 1954, no. 1, 1955.
 G. A. HOLMES. A Protest against the Despensers, 1326. *Speculum*, Apr., 1955.
 CURT F. BÜHLER. A Letter from Edward IV to Galeazzo Maria Sforza. *Ibid.*
 ISABEL R. ABBOTT and ROLAND E. LATHAM. Caterpillars of the Commonwealth. *Ibid.*
 YVONNE LABANDE-MAILFERT. Trois traités de paix: 1492-1493. *Moyen âge*, nos. 3-4, 1954.
 GIACOMO C. BASCAPÉ. La sigillografia in Italia: Notizia saggio bibliografico. *Archivi* (Rome), no. 4, 1954.

THE CRUSADES

- J. J. SAUNDERS. Mohammed in Europe: A Note on Western Interpretations of the Life of the Prophet. *History*, Feb.-June, 1954.
 JOHN HUGH HILL and LAURITA L. HILL. Contemporary Accounts and the Later Reputation of Adhemar, Bishop of Puy. *Medievalia et Humanistica*, IX, 1955.
 AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA. The Crusades: Old Ideas and New Conceptions. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
 ROBERT W. CRAWFORD. William of Tyre and the Maronites. *Speculum*, Apr., 1955.
 CH. THOUZELLIER. Hérésie et croisade au XII^e siècle. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, no. 4, 1954.
 A. FROLOW. La déviation de la 4^e Croisade vers Constantinople. Problème d'histoire et de doctrine (III). *Rev. hist. des religions*, Oct., 1954.

CH. D'ESZLARY. L'influence des Assises de Jérusalem sur la Bulle d'or hongroise. *Moyen âge*, nos. 3-4, 1954.

ECONOMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL

J. BOUSSARD. Essai sur le peuplement de la Touraine du I^{er} au VIII^e siècle. *Moyen âge*, nos. 3-4, 1954.

PH. GRIERSON. Le sou d'or d'Uzès [ascribed to Charlemagne]. *Ibid.*

P. FEUCHÈRE. Une tentative manquée de concentration territoriale entre Somme et Seine: La principauté d'Amiens-Valois au XI^e siècle. *Ibid.*, nos. 1-2, 1954.

ROBERT S. HOYT. Farm of the Manor and Community of the Vill in Domesday Book. *Speculum*, Apr., 1955.

ROSALIE and MURRAY WAX. The Vikings and the Rise of Capitalism. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, July, 1955.

J. P. TRABUT-CUSSAC. Bastides ou forteresses? Les bastides de l'Aquitaine anglaise et les intentions de leurs fondateurs. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1-2, 1954.

A. BOSSUAT. Le rétablissement de la paix sociale sous le règne de Charles VII. *Ibid.*

FRITZ TIMME. Die Entstehung von Frankfurt an der Oder. *Zeitsch. f. Ostforsch.*, no. 4, 1954.

FRITZ GAUSE. Die Gründung der Stadt Königsberg im Zusammenhang der Politik des Ordens und der Stadt Lübeck. *Ibid.*

BETTY BANDEL. The English Chroniclers' Attitude toward Women. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1955.

ALICE BEARDWOOD. Bishop Langton's Use of Statute Merchant Recognizances. *Medievalia et Humanistica*, IX, 1955.

J. L. KIRBY. An Account of Robert Southwell, Receiver-General of John Mowbray, Earl Marshall, 1422-23. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, Nov., 1954.

HEINZ ZATSCHKE. Die Handwerksordnungen der Stadt Wien aus den Jahren 1346-1430. *Mitteilungen des Inst. f. österreich. Geschichtsforschung*, nos. 1-2, 1955.

FREDERICK G. HEYMANN. The Role of the Towns in the Bohemia of the Later Middle Ages. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.

RALPH E. GIESSEY. The Royal Funeral in Renaissance France. *Renaiss. News*, Winter, 1954.

P. BLET. Collections canoniques et critique textuelle. Notes sur les recherches de W. M. Peitz. *Moyen âge*, nos. 1-2, 1954.

MARIO LUZZATTO. Le più antiche glosse ai costituti pisani. *Archivi*, no. 4, 1954.

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

F. EDWARD CRANZ. The Development of Augustine's Ideas on Society before the Donatist Controversy. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct., 1954.

S. GIET. Simples remarques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne. *Rev. des sci. relig.*, Jan., 1955.

ETIENNE DELARUELLE. Jonas d'Orléans et le moralisme carolingien (fin). *Bull. de litt. ecclés.*, Oct., 1954.

R. JANIN. L'empereur dans l'Eglise byzantine. *Nouvelle rev. théol.*, Jan., 1955.

DENO J. GEANAKOPOLOS. On the Schism of the Greek and Roman Churches: A Confidential Papal Directive for the Implementation of Union (1278). *Greek Orthodox Theol. Rev.*, I, no. 1, Aug., 1954.

G. MOLLAT. Grégoire XI et sa légende. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, no. 4, 1954.

BERTHE M. MARTI. Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orléans. *Speculum*, Apr., 1955.

ROBERT STUPPERICH. Abendländisches Mönchtum in neuen Darstellungen. *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, Nov., 1954.

G. LEPOINTE. Réflexions sur des textes concernant la propriété individuelle de religieuses cisterciennes dans la région Lilloise. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, no. 4, 1954.

ALAIN D'HERBLAY. Le problème des origines cisterciennes. *Ibid.*, no. 1, 1955.

N. HUYGHEBAERT. L'abbesse Frisilde et les débuts de l'abbaye de Messines. *Ibid.*

MARGARET ARCHER. Philip Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln, and His Cathedral Chapter. *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jour.*, no. 2, 1954.

S. HARRISON THOMSON. Grosseteste's Concordantial Signs. *Medievalia et Humanistica*, IX, 1955.

GEORGES PILLEMONT. Le Siège d'Avignon. *Rev. de Paris*, June, 1955.

M. G. SNAPE. A Letter from a Yorkshire Prioress to Archbishop Thoresby, c. 1356. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, Nov., 1954.

DAVID KNOWLES. English Monastic Life in the Later Middle Ages. *History*, Feb.-June, 1954.

- T. F. LINDSAY. The Letter-Books of the Christ Church, Canterbury (1296-1536). *Dublin Rev.*, 2d quar., 1955.
 Sister M. AMELIA KLENKE. Steventon Priory and a Bozon Manuscript. *Speculum*, Apr., 1955.

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

- R. LEJEUNE. Technique formulaire et chansons de geste. *Moyen âge*, nos. 3-4, 1955.
 RONALD N. WALPOLE. The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*: Poem, Legend, and Problem. *Romance Philol.*, Feb., 1955.
 Sister MARY FAITH SCHUSTER. Twelfth-Century Drama. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan., 1955.
 R. P. CHENU. Découverte de la nature et philosophie de l'homme à l'Ecole de Chartres au XII^e siècle. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
 FRANK PEGUES. Aubert de Guignicourt—Fourteenth Century Patron of Learning. *Medievalia et Humanistica*, IX, 1955.
 PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER. Two Unpublished Questions on the Soul of Pietro Pomponazzi. *Ibid.*
 M. PLESSNER. The Place of the *Turba Philosophorum* in the Development of Alchemy. *Isis*, Dec., 1954.
 ROBERT P. MÜLTHAUF. John of Rupeuscissa and the Origin of Medical Chemistry. *Ibid.*
 ASTRIK L. GABRIEL. The Educational Ideas of Christine de Pisan. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1955.
 W. D. ROBSON-SCOTT. Wackenroder and the Middle Ages [did not begin medievalism in German Romantic literature]. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

A HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. By Perez Zagorin. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, pp. vii, 208, 15s.) Dr. Zagorin has not written a complete history of political thought in the Revolution and there is no evidence that he intended to do so. He has written, instead, a stimulating account, centering on those doctrines which were in opposition to the traditional order, not so-called "democratic" thought only but also that of such men as Hobbes, Nedham, and Filmer. In fourteen chapters Zagorin deals, among others, with Leveller theorists, utopian communists, theorists of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Little or no mention will be found of the more conventional thinkers like Ireton, Cromwell, or Pym. Just as Zagorin's limitation of his purpose should be respected, so should his interpretations be judged through the framework he himself has set. The Revolution is stressed as a critical moment in the detachment of political ideas from their religious associations. The religious factor is not ignored, but a special emphasis is put upon the emerging secular elements. In this way Zagorin shows convincingly how a man like John Winstanley progressed from mysticism through pantheism to rationalism. There are, necessarily, problems of interpretation involved in such analyses. Zagorin is on the side of the Revolution, and progress is defined both in terms of the secularization of thought and of the fulfillment of popular aspirations. While such frank attitudes make toward clarity of exposition, the emphasis upon the process of secularization may have led to an underestimation of the religious factor as, in itself, containing elements of rationalism so important in these theories. For example, the chiliasm of Thomas Müntzer did not completely exclude realistic attitudes toward social reform. Nor was Thomas More so much less rational than John Winstanley. Fifth Monarchy surely had deeper roots than the failure of the democratic revolution to consummate itself. Francis Osborn may have been a partisan of the "new philosophy," but from another point of view he was much concerned with squaring his rationalism with his faith. One might

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

question whether the detachment of political ideas from their religious association was, in many cases, as complete as Zagorin would have us believe and, further, whether the religious factor led in all cases to a social utopianism from which thinkers were saved only by a progressive rationalization of their ideas. No one, in an analysis of political thought, has a monopoly on truth. It is to be regretted, therefore, that Zagorin so summarily dismisses the work of other scholars. As his statements on sources sometimes tend to be equally arbitrary, it may be well to add that the *Atheistical Politician* is not the work of Francis Osborn but of James Bovey, in whose name it was reissued in 1692, under the title *Vindication of the Hero of Political Learning N. Machiavelli*. Zagorin has not produced a definitive work, but he has done what any historian of political thought ought to do: he has written a provocative book, based on the sources, which provides stimulus for new ideas and new interpretations.

GEORGE L. MOSSE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE MAIN STREAM OF JACOBITISM. By *George Hilton Jones*, Assistant Professor of History, Washington College. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. x, 275, \$4.50.) This study, a revision of Mr. Jones's doctoral dissertation at Oxford University, is a creditable piece of research, based upon wide reading and upon an extensive examination of unpublished materials. The blurb supplied for the jacket by the Harvard Press loosely describes these materials as "heretofore unpublished," though in fact Mr. Jones merely uses them and publishes nothing beyond a few quotations. His theme may be described as a history of the diplomacy of the Jacobite movement. Centering his attention upon the government in exile first established by James II and continued by the Old Pretender for more than half a century, Mr. Jones follows in careful detail the correspondence of the exiled court with every statesman and monarch who might possibly come to its assistance, as well as with its agents and supporters in Britain and elsewhere. This correspondence abounds in plots and intrigues, but Mr. Jones adheres to his diplomatic theme and resists the temptation, as few writers would have done, to tell once more the old but fascinating story of the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-Five. The history of Jacobite diplomacy is worth recording, though it is, of course, a disheartening chronicle of mistakes, disappointments, and deterioration. Mr. Jones thinks highly of the Old Pretender. He was, says the author, a man of his word who refused to make promises he did not intend to fulfill; and his Catholicism, though unwavering, "had no taint of intolerance about it." He is stoutly defended both in his dismissal of Bolingbroke and in his difficulties with his wife, Clementina Sobieski, and he is declared to be innocent of the slurs that have been cast upon his private virtue. Yet as his efforts subsided into mere trouble-making for England and into promises to Spain and to Austria which, if fulfilled, would certainly have been to England's detriment, the author admits that the Old Pretender was no more than a "decent failure." Mr. Jones's opinion of the Young Pretender is low, but this is nothing new. It is a pity that the author did not take greater pains with his literary style, which is awkward and needlessly complicated. Names are introduced without proper identification, pronouns lose contact with their antecedents, and interpolations in the middle of sentences obscure the meaning. Take for example the following: "To gain a domestic ally, the Jacobites, with the remarkable exception of Shippen ('an Enthusiastick & a Phanatick in his own honest way, and one dare never trust him with a reason if there were ne'er so good a one,' Menzies said), joined the friends of the second Earl of Sunderland to save him from impeachment for his shady connection with the South Sea Company before the passage of the South Sea Act." Sentences such as this annoy and distract the reader and mar the effectiveness of Mr. Jones's able research.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON, *University of Minnesota*

CONTINENTAL AND COLONIAL SERVANTS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By *J. Jean Hecht*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XL.] (Northampton, Mass., Department of History of Smith College, 1954, pp. iv, 61, \$1.25.) Professor Hecht has described the problems of those who employed foreign and colonial servants. Having French servants was a sign of an Englishman's sense of taste and wealth. These servants were well rewarded, receiving better wages and household advantages than the others. Such preferments isolated the French servants and aroused much bitterness that spread throughout the English lower classes. By contrast, the use of Negroes was less controversial. Discrimination rarely existed. The Negroes won from the masses and their masters sympathy that hastened their emancipation. The author took materials almost entirely from printed works and newspapers. No examples of actual household life are given. Though limited, the book presents some challenging observations on social attitudes.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Whittier College*

THE CLERICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1661-1850. By *Orlo Cyprian Williams*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xv, 336, \$5.60.) In his history of the office of the clerk of the House of Commons Mr. Williams not only deals with the biographies of the successive clerks and their assistants but also describes the functional development of the clerk's department from the Restoration, when it was rudimentary, to 1850, when it had reached something like the highly complex organization that it has today. Although he throws light on many subjects, two phases of his study should particularly attract interest: first, his account of the growth of the clerk's emoluments, largely from fees, from £300 to £400 at the beginning of the eighteenth century to over £10,000 (double what the speaker received) in the early nineteenth century until, by legislation which took effect in 1820, the clerk's salary was rigidly fixed by statute and all fees were paid into a central fund; second, his new and highly convincing view of the origins of parliamentary agency as a profession which, in this short notice, there is not space to discuss. Mr. Williams is uniquely qualified both by scholarship and by practical experience to undertake this survey. He was himself clerk of the House of Commons for many years and, besides having written a dozen other books, is the author of the standard work on private bill procedure and also of a biography of John Rickman, the distinguished clerk assistant of the early nineteenth century and the originator of the census. In learning, wealth of illuminating detail, and sensitive appreciation of the relation of machinery and procedure to wider constitutional and political issues, this book is everything that could be desired.

W. O. AYDELOTTE, *State University of Iowa*

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1734-1832. By *Gerrit P. Judd*, IV. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 61.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. viii, 389, \$6.00.) Mr. Judd has used punch-cards and IBM machines to summarize and compare an enormous mass of biographical facts about the 5,034 men who sat in the House of Commons between the general elections of 1734 and 1832. His conclusions, presented in a brief text of seventy-seven pages (most of the book is devoted to an alphabetical list of these men), deal with the nationality, age, length of parliamentary service, social status, education, profession, and economic interests of the members. He plays fair with the reader in explaining the bases of his classifications; some of his criteria, however, may be disputed. He has "followed the biographical notices literally" in deciding who belonged to the "commercial interest" (p. 54). Since these sources are extremely unreliable this has led him into occasional errors as when, to give just one example, he describes William Bingham Baring (later the second Lord Ashburton) as a "merchant" (p. 90), a statement that is almost certainly untrue no matter

how far that elastic term is stretched. This is one Baring who apparently had no share in the family business, though his father and brother were both partners. Again, it seems doubtful that Mr. Judd is justified in accepting the prescription of the 1834 edition of Dod's *Parliamentary Companion* that "all members not described as of some profession or business, may be presumed to be landed proprietors" (p. 71). More generally, Mr. Judd fails to follow up some of the interesting historical problems raised by his findings. He states that "commercial interests" entered the House more through open than through rotten boroughs but he does not say, though this follows from his figures, that this was a statistically significant trend; on the contrary, he adds that members from the rotten boroughs were "typical of the House's membership as a whole" (p. 75), though this is not true by his own showing. Nor does he give breakdowns indicating which commercial interests tended to sit most for open boroughs or how this tendency varied with their other personal characteristics, though such tests could readily have been made from his information and would have taken us a good deal further into the problem. His neglect to use standard statistical tests of significance to appraise the value of his results is also a drawback. However, any pioneering effort is vulnerable and it would be ungrateful to urge too strongly these objections against a study which is in general admirably presented, is based on monumental research, and yields much fascinating information on subjects about which it was never before possible to be precise.

W. O. AYDELOTTE, *State University of Iowa*

RELIGION IN THE VICTORIAN ERA. By L. E. Elliott-Binns. (2d ed.; Greenwich, Conn., Seabury Press, 1955, pp. 526, \$7.00.) Students of Victorian England will be familiar with this volume, as it is identical with the second (1946) English edition of the work first published in 1936. After almost twenty years Mr. Elliott-Binns' book remains the standard work dealing with all branches of English—not, be it noted, British—Christianity from the early nineteenth century to the death of Queen Victoria. The author devotes considerable space to relating religion to the thought, society, and politics of the age, and the extensive use of quotations from biographies—often obscure—of religious and other figures is a distinctive feature of the book. Though not a definitive scholarly study, the volume, which is equipped with a thorough index, is a very useful account for both its details and its many perceptive comments. The reader may wish for a clearer and broader picture of the development of religion in general and of particular denominations and groups over the decades, but he will appreciate the author's excellent treatment of such frequently neglected topics as worship and the ministry and of such well-defined themes as the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge School. An Anglican clergyman, Mr. Elliott-Binns is at his best in dealing with the Church of England, which receives the fullest consideration. The author seems to equate the strengthening of the Established Church during the century with the revival of religion; he does not face the problem of the decline of religious interest and intensity on the part of the English people. Though he is not lacking in desire for impartiality, his chapter on Roman Catholicism (which omits mention of Lord Acton) and his more extended discussions of Nonconformity tend to suffer from his Anglican perspective. He recognizes the special importance of Nonconformity in the Victorian era but fails to do full justice to the theme.

JOHN F. GLASER, *Ripon College*

EVANGELICAL NONCONFORMISTS AND HIGHER CRITICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Willis B. Glover. (London, Independent Press, 1954, pp. 296, 17s. 6d.) One more of the gaps in the history of Nonconformity has been ably filled. The idea of Biblical inerrancy, Professor Glover finds, did not begin to be undermined among English Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists (the

leading denominations, to which he chiefly confines himself) until the 1880's—a full generation after it had been widely challenged in British learned circles. German higher criticism, moreover, had much more to do with undermining it than Darwinian evolution. Yet by 1900 Nonconformists had all but universally accepted the new approach to the Old Testament and were beginning to apply it to the New. The author, an American Protestant with an avowed Evangelical bias, contrasts this experience with the inconclusive battle between Liberals and Fundamentalists in this country, and shows that English Nonconformists were more easily persuaded because the leaders who undertook to persuade them, unlike American Liberals, were known to be loyal to the essentials of Evangelical theology. What this theology amounted to in Victorian England, however, is nowhere explained—unless, indeed, one is prepared to accept as explanation Professor Glover's belief in “the correspondence between the theology of the evangelicals and that of the Evangelists” (p. 52). The omission is regrettable because, as Professor Glover himself recognizes, the dispute over higher criticism was but a facet of the great mid-century challenge to such cardinal doctrines as Original Sin and Vicarious Atonement, and the ultimate values implicit in such doctrines. It is in the context of that challenge, surely, that we must seek an explanation of the prolonged reluctance of Nonconformist leaders (and many Anglicans, for that matter) to come to grips with the secondary question of higher criticism. Once they did so, at any rate, men like William R. Nicoll showed remarkable skill in revolutionizing the opinions of ordinary people without serious damage to their churches and thus in clearing the way for the chastened and intellectually more vigorous Protestantism of this century. In addition to extending the frontier of our knowledge of the Victorian period, Professor Glover has written a significant chapter in the history of Protestantism.

HOWARD R. MURPHY, *Perry, Georgia*

BEACON OF FREEDOM: THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY UPON GREAT BRITAIN, 1830–1870. By G. D. Lillibridge. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp. xv, 159, \$4.00.) This compact volume reverses the usual procedure of studying European influences on the United States and examines the “impact” of American democracy on Great Britain. The author traces references to the United States through files of radical newspapers, the more important periodicals and relevant books. Although one might question the principles of selection, a very considerable amount of material is covered. The substance of this research is presented in three chapters centering on the reform movement, 1830–1837, on Chartism, 1837–1848, and on the agitations led by Cobden and Bright, 1848–1870. The conclusion that the example of American democracy had a determining effect on British reform movements runs throughout the whole book. Few critical readers are likely to accept this thesis entire, but they will certainly be provoked by the argument—and by the style in which it is couched—into considering the pattern of political and cultural relationships within the English-speaking world. Dr. Lillibridge does not recognize that the number and form of references to American democracy in short-lived radical journals—he used no other newspapers—is not a measure of its effect on Britain. If he had studied men and the shaping of their minds more directly through letters, diaries, and memoirs he would have seen how little the reforms achieved in the thirties were determined by American democracy, how secondary American influence was on the Chartists, and how truly significant the outcome of the Civil War was in developing the validity of American political experience. In 1830, the continued cultural dependence of the United States qualified all American influence in Britain, while in 1870 the political stability of the United States was assured and its cultural independence was in the making. Dr. Lillibridge misses the essential point of the changing position of

American democracy in the setting of trans-Atlantic relations. In 1830 it was still the crude achievement in the New World of enlightened European ideas which seemed stultified in the Old World. In 1870 a renewed liberalism was ascendent in Europe while democracy in America had ceased to be revolutionary and had acquired a tradition and a pre-industrial character of its own. FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Mills College*

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF HAROLD J. LASKI. By *Herbert A. Deane*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 370, \$5.75.) Harold Laski's thought is a turmoil of passion, profusion, eclecticism, and contradiction. From 1914, when he graduated from Oxford and first began writing about politics for the syndicalist *Daily Herald*, to 1950, when he died, fifty-seven years old and worn out from overwork, he reacted violently for or against almost every political event that took place and put it all down on paper. Until the great depression, which convinced him that capitalism was doomed and made him an unyielding Marxist, Laski was a hypersensitive barometer, registering all the current political theories and fluctuating up and down between liberty and authority, individualism and collectivism, pluralism and state sovereignty. This inconsistency is, though sometimes maddening, one source of Laski's fascination. He registered the hopes, fears, despairs, and intellectual cross-currents of the world between the two wars, and he is, therefore, a genuine historic figure. But if Laski's zigzags are intriguing, they are difficult to describe clearly. How did Laski reconcile one set of beliefs with a second diametrically opposite? What made him change his opinions so often? Were his judgments of the events themselves sound, or was he factually off base? These are some of the questions which Herbert Deane asks in his new book, *The Political Ideas of Harold Laski*, and he answers them brilliantly. This is the first full-scale study of Laski's thought. It will not easily be bettered. Out of the chaotic mass of Laski's writings, Deane has brought order. Laski could never make up his mind what a political theory is supposed to be. Is it the formal legalistic study of the structure and function of the state? Is it a psychological and ethical study of the relationship of the individual to society? Or, if political power is merely a function of economic power, is theory the study of their interaction? At different times in his life, Laski gave different answers—and sometimes two at once. Deane untangles them all, and relentlessly but fairly exposes the web of factual error, false conclusions, and incomplete reasoning in which Laski was so often caught. He sees two major weaknesses in Laski's thought: his mind had tight compartments, which allowed him to entertain incompatibles simultaneously; and he had an overmastering impulse to explain the most complex phenomena by a simple formula. Nowhere are Laski's defects more transparent than in his last discussions of the Soviet Union. As the cold war grew colder, Laski began to admit that Russia was not the utopia he wanted so badly to believe it was. He faced up to the economic inequality, the lack of political choice, the ruthlessness of its leaders, the suspicion and xenophobia which marked its foreign policy, and yet ascribed it all to "legitimate fear of capitalist encirclement." At the same time, Deane recognizes Laski's appeal, and asks: for all Laski's faults, why was his influence on some of the best minds of the between-wars generation so powerful? He finds the answer in Laski's generous indignation and fervent concern for every kind of underdog. Laski brought passion to political theory in an age of old-bones liberalism and statistics. Deane has written an authoritative, sophisticated, and important book.

M. P. MACK, *New York, N. Y.*

IMPERIAL POLICY AND SOUTH AFRICA, 1902-10. By *G. B. Pyrah*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xvi, 272, \$5.60.) This excellent monograph fills a long-felt need. Carefully and soberly the author depicts events on the South African political scene against the background of British Liberalism. Following a brief sketch of

chief aspects of the views of empire held by W. E. Gladstone and his disciples, Mr. Pyrah reviews the dissensions within the Liberal party over the Boer War. He then discusses the peace settlement in its various phases, the divergent opinions of Joseph Chamberlain and Milner on South African issues, the attitude of the British Liberals toward the native question in South Africa, and factors which led to the political unification of the subcontinent. Interspersed with the account of events are analyses of British and South African opinion. In the final chapter, "Retrospects," Mr. Pyrah evaluates the roles of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and General Botha and pays high tribute to them as statesmen of character and foresight. The support which the Union of South Africa gave to Britain in two world wars is traceable to Campbell-Bannerman's wise decision to grant self-government to the two ex-Boer republics less than five years after the surrender of their military forces. Mr. Pyrah shows that Chamberlain in 1902-1903 remained faithful to the old Liberal doctrine concerning colonial policy, that Milner acted not at the behest of the mine owners but in the interest of the country when he brought Chinese coolies to South Africa, that some of the architects of the South African Union believed that with the spread of education, South Africans would gain a juster appreciation of native rights, and that British failure to respect the language and culture of the Afrikanders blocked the realization of Botha's "one stream" dream, a union of hearts of Boer and Briton. Appendixes dealing with the protectorates and the "Methods of Warfare, 1900-1902," and a good bibliography add to the value of this book. Unlike many other British writers on the recent history of their empire, Mr. Pyrah has made good use of available collections of private papers; and he gives deserved credit to W. E. Gladstone as a statesman who rightly understood the spirit of Greater Britain.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

TUDORS AND STUARTS

- M. W. BARLEY. Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725. *Ec. History Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
 ROSALIE L. COLIE. Cornelis Drebbel and Salomon de Caus: Two Jacobean Models for Salomon's House. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1955.
 WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON. Scotland and the Scots. *Am. Scholar*, Spring, 1955.
 J. J. DWYER. The Popish Plot. *Month*, May, 1955.
 ARTHUR B. FERGUSON. Renaissance Realism in the "Commonwealth" Literature of Early Tudor England. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June, 1955.
 AMADEUS P. FIORE. The Problem of 17th Century Soteriology in Reference to Milton. *Franciscan Stud.*, Mar., 1955.
 S. G. GILLAM and R. W. HUNT. The Curators of the Library and Humphrey Wanley. *Bodleian Lib. Rec.*, Oct., 1954.
 F. J. W. HARDING. Defence and Security Measures in the County Palatine of Durham Chiefly in the 17th Century from the Evidence of the Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts. I. *Durham Univ. Jour.*, Mar., 1955.
 RONALD W. HEPBURN. George Hakewill: The Virility of Nature. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
 R. W. K. HINTON. The Mercantile System in the Time of Thomas Mun. *Ec. History Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
 WINTHROP S. HUDSON. Denominationalism as a Basis for Ecumenicity: A Seventeenth Century Conception. *Church Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
 JOHN IRWIN. Origins of the "Oriental Style" in English Decorative Art. *Burlington Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
 KENNETH JACKSON. The Britons in Southern Scotland. *Antiquity*, June, 1955.
 NEIL R. KER. Sir John Prise. *Library*, Mar., 1955.
 L. C. KNIGHTS. On Historical Scholarship and the Interpretation of Shakespeare. *Seawanee Rev.*, Spring, 1955.
 DOROTHEA KROOK. Two Baconians: Robert Boyle and Joseph Glanvill. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1955.

- CHARLES DONALD O'MALLEY. The Relations of John Caius with Andreas Vesalius and Some Incidental Remarks on the Giunta Galen and on Thomas Geminus. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.*, Apr., 1955.
- I. G. PHILIP. Inventory of the Goods of Dr. Thomas Lockety. *Bodleian Lib. Rec.*, Oct., 1954.
- K. POVEY. Variant Forms in Elizabethan Printing. *Library*, Mar., 1955.
- GEORG SCHURHAMMER. Thomas Stephens, 1549-1619. *Month*, Apr., 1955.
- M. A. THOMSON. The Safeguarding of the Protestant Succession, 1702-18. *History*, Feb.-June, 1954.
- DENIS VAN BERCHEM. On Some Chapters of the *Notitia Dignitatum* Relating to the Defence of Gaul and Britain. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1955.
- CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE. Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr., 1955.
- LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Elizabethan Politics and Colonial Enterprise. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.

MODERN BRITAIN SINCE 1714

- LOUIS ALLEN. Letters of Philipps de Lisle to Montalembert [cont.]. *Dublin Rev.*, 1st Quar., 1955.
- Id.* Two Letters from the Newman Archives. *Durham Univ. Jour.* Mar., 1955.
- T. S. ASHTON. Essays in Bibliography and Criticism, XXX. Economic Fluctuations, 1790-1850. *Ec. History Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- H. C. BARNARD. De La Salle Brothers in England, 1855-1955. *Month*, Apr., 1955.
- HERBERT W. BRIGGS. The Final Act of the London Conference on Germany: A Study in the Law of International Engagements. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr., 1955.
- ALLAN G. CHESTER and M. A. SHAAER. English Language and Literature [bibliography for 1954]. *PMLA*, Apr., 1955.
- ARCHIBALD CLOW. Fiscal Policy and the Development of Technology. *Ann. of Sci.*, Dec., 1954.
- J. B. CONACHER. Some Recent Books on English History: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- FRANK WHITSON FETTER. The Editions of the Bullion Report. *Economica*, May, 1955.
- EDWARD FIESS. Toynbee as Poet. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- ALAN FOX. Industrial Relations in Nineteenth-Century Birmingham. *Oxford Ec. Papers*, Feb., 1955.
- WILLIAM FRANKENA. Hutcheson's Moral Sense Theory. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June, 1955.
- NORTON GARFINKLE. Science and Religion in England, 1790-1800: The Critical Response to the Work of Erasmus Darwin. *Ibid.*
- JOHN G. GAZLEY. Arthur Young, Agriculturalist and Traveller, 1741-1820: Some Biographical Sources. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Mar., 1955.
- PIETER GEYL. Toynbee the Prophet. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- MALCOLM GRAY. The Highland Potato Famine of the 1840's. *Ec. History Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- A. H. JOHN. War and the English Economy, 1700-1763. *Ibid.*
- J. CALVIN KEENE. The Social Thought of William Temple. *Jour. Religious Thought*, Spring-Summer, 1954.
- D. S. LEES. Public Departments and Cheap Money, 1932-38. *Economica*, Feb., 1955.
- MICHAEL GARETH LLEWELYN. Industrial Revival in Wales. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROBERT LIDDELL LOVIE. Notes and Documents: Two Arnold Letters. *Mod. Philol.*, May, 1955.
- R. G. LYDE. Jacobite Leaflets and Pamphlets. *British Museum Quar.*, Sept., 1954.
- OLIVER MACDONAGH. The Regulation of the Emigrant Traffic from the United Kingdom, 1842-55. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Sept., 1954.
- R. L. MARRIS. The Purchasing Power of British Exports. *Economica*, Feb., 1955.
- G. B. MATHUR. Hume and Kant in Their Relation to the Pragmatic Movement. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- W. M. PARKER. Professor Toynbee's "Magnum Opus." *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- PETER L. PAYNE. The Role of the Salesman and the Commission Agent in the Early Years of the British Rubber Mechanicals Industry (1). *Explorations in Entrepreneurial Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- BRADFORD PERKINS. England and the Louisiana Question. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1955.
- B. P. PHILPOTT. Fluctuations in Wool Prices, 1870-1953. *Yorkshire Bull.* Mar., 1955.
- BERNADINE PIETRASZEK. Britain and Direct Spanish American Trade, 1815-1925. *Mid-America*, Apr., 1955.

- J. POTTER. The British Timber Duties, 1815-60. *Economica*, May, 1955.
- FRANCIS POWYS. The Quiet Man of Dorset—T. F. Powys. *Adelphi*, Nov., 1954.
- GORDON RIMMER. Middleton Colliery, Near Leeds (1770-1830). *Yorkshire Bull.*, Mar., 1955.
- J. FRED RIPPY. British Investments in Texas Lands and Livestock. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Jan. 1955.
- ERIC ROBINSON. Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden and Contemporary Opinion. *Ann. of Sci.*, Dec., 1954.
- Id.* Training Captains of Industry: The Education of Matthew Robinson Boulton (1770-1842) and the Younger James Watt (1769-1848). *Ibid.*
- ATUL CHANDRA ROY. England's Educational System and Ours. *Calcutta Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD. James Watt's Letter to Joseph Priestly, 26 April 1783. *Ann. of Sci.*, Dec., 1954.
- KENNETH SCOTT. A British Counterfeiting Press in New York Harbor, 1776. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Apr.-July, 1955.
- DAVID SPRING. A Great Agricultural Estate: Netherby under Sir James Graham, 1820-1845. *Agric. Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- E. W. STRONG. William Whewell and John Stuart Mill: Their Controversy about Scientific Knowledge. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- A. J. TAYLOR. The Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, 1842-48: A Study in the Problem of Integration. *Economica*, Feb., 1955.
- WILLIAM B. TODD. The Printing of Eighteenth-Century Periodicals: With Notes on the *Examiner* and the *World Library*, Mar., 1955.
- PAUL VAUCHER. Histoire de la Grande-Bretagne. (2^e partie.) Période moderne. xix^e et xx^e siècles. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- M. I. WEBB. Giovanni Battista Guelfi: an Italian Sculptor Working in England. *Burlington Mag.*, May, 1955.
- AUSTIN WRIGHT (ed.). Victorian Bibliography for 1954. *Mod. Philol.*, May, 1955.

COMMONWEALTH, IRELAND, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

- LOUIS-PHILIPPE AUDET. Les écoles indépendantes dans le Bas-Canada, 1800-1825. *Culture*, Mar., 1955.
- JOHN BASTIN. The West Australian Separation for Federation Movement. *Australian Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- CHARLES S. BLACKTON. The Dawn of Australian National Feeling, 1850-1856. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- MICHAEL BLUNDELL. The Present Situation in Kenya. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- ADELAIDE P. BOSTICK. The [Dr. and Mrs. Stanton Pierce] Bryan Letters [Ireland and Kentucky, 1856-57]. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1955.
- CHARLES S. BRANT. The Case for Burma. *Antioch Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- IRVING BRECHER. Canadian Monetary Thought and Policy in the 1920's. *Canadian Jour. Economics and Pol. Sci.*, May, 1955.
- JAMES CARTY, R. DUDLEY EDWARDS, P. HENCHY, T. W. MOODY, K. POVEY. Writings on Irish History, 1953. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Sept., 1954.
- K. M. DALLAS. The Origins of "White Australia." *Australian Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- H. S. FERNS and BERNARD OSTRY. Mackenzie King and the First World War. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- W. R. GRAHAM. Arthur Meighen and the Conservative Party in Quebec: The Election of 1925. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- ALAN GRAY. Quarterly Chronicle. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- GORDON GREENWOOD. The Present State of History Teaching and Research in Australian Universities: An Estimate. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1954.
- AUBREY GWYNN. Some Notes on the History of the *Book of Kells*. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Sept., 1954.
- ERIC P. HAMP. Recent Scholarship in Ireland. *Mod. Philol.*, May, 1955.
- DOM MICHAEL HANBURY. Algar Thorald. *Dublin Rev.*, 1st Quar., 1955.
- MARTIN J. HAVRAN. Windsor and Detroit Relations during the Civil War. *Michigan Hist.*, Dec., 1954.
- MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON. Recent Publications Relating to Canada. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.

- G. P. JOOSTE. South Africa's Position in the Western World. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- GAVIN LONG. The Australian War History Tradition. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1954.
- LAWRENCE J. McCAFFREY. Home Rule and the General Election of 1874 in Ireland. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Sept., 1954.
- DESMOND McCOURT. Infield and Outfield in Ireland. *Ec. History Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROBERT NEIL McLARTY. Jamaica Prepares for Invasion, 1779. *Caribbean Quar.*, Jan., 1955.
- ELAINE ALLAN MITCHELL. The North West Company Agreement of 1795. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- W. L. MORTON. The Formation of the First Federal Cabinet. *Ibid.*
- C. R. NIVEN. Recent Developments in Nigeria. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- D. P. O'CONNELL. Sedentary Fisheries and the Australian Continental Shelf. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr., 1955.
- C. A. PRICE. European Minorities in Australia, 1840-1940. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, Nov., 1954.
- ZARA SHAKOW. The Defence Committee: A Forerunner of the Committee of Imperial Defence. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- R. H. W. SHEPHERD. The South African Bantu Education Act. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1955.

FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

UN PHYSICIEN AU SIÈCLE DES LUMIÈRES, L'ABBÉ NOLLET, 1700-1770. By Jean Torlais. Preface by Léon Binet. (Paris, Sipuco, 1954, pp. 270, 800 fr.) Here is a good biography of the physicist Nollet by the author and editor of several books in the history of French science. The story of Nollet reveals how it was possible in the eighteenth century for a boy of bright mind and determination, despite low birth, to make his way to the topmost rank in academic and even social honors. Peasant, academician, professor at the University of Paris, tutor at the royal courts of Turin and Paris (one of his pupils being the future Louis XVI), and author of an immensely popular multivolume treatise on physics, the abbé Nollet was regarded as the best informed man in France on the subject of electricity and one of the best on physics in general. He made various contributions to science, perhaps the most notable being his suggestion of electrotherapy. He is also credited with being a pioneer in the use and popularization of experimentation, but had not that been a seventeenth-century accomplishment? Question also may be made as to whether Nollet deserves to be rated in the same degree of distinction as Réaumur, Lavoisier, and other eminents. Was he really not more of a popularizer than a creator of thought? The book is not only a scholarly biography of Nollet, it gives accounts of numerous other scientists of various countries and sets forth a splendid picture of science and its popularity in the 1700's. Footnotes are omitted but a bibliography and a biographical index are included. Doctor Torlais has examined all the relevant printed and manuscript material. He describes at some length Nollet's unwarranted antipathy for Franklin, and throughout he is fair. His last chapters have many witticisms. All in all, it is an able work and this reviewer wishes that it might be made available in English translation to a wider public.

SHELBY T. McCLOY, *University of Kentucky*

OEUVRES DE MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE. Volume VIII, DISCOURS, OCTOBRE 1791-SEPTEMBRE 1792. Edition préparé sous la direction de Marc Bouloiseau, Georges Lefebvre, et Albert Soboul. [Publication de la VI^e section de l'Ecole des hautes études (Sciences économiques et sociales) et de la Société des études robespierristes.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1954, pp. 481, 1,200 fr.) This is the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

third volume of the new and complete edition of the speeches of Robespierre (reviewed at more length in *AHR*, LVI [July, 1951], 878). Since it comprises the period of the Legislative Assembly, of which Robespierre was not a member, the speeches are mostly those delivered at the Jacobin club. The work therefore supplements Aulard's *Jacobins*. The editors searched four hundred contemporary publications to find reports of Robespierre's speeches, without finding very much; they conclude that the Jacobin club before August, 1792, received less attention from contemporaries than from historians. For general purposes, the most interesting of Robespierre's speeches in the present volume are those made to prevent the war and to summon a popularly elected National Convention. The editors observe, having thoroughly explored the press of the day, that a good history of the uprising of August 10, 1792, that is, of the fall of the monarchy, has yet to be written.

R. R. PALMER, *Princeton University*

CORNEILLE-FRANÇOIS DE NELIS, 18^e ET DERNIER EVÊQUE D'ANVERS (1785-1798): UN EVÊQUE HUMANISTE ET HOMME D'ACTION À LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By W. J. H. Price. (Louvain, Publications universitaires de Louvain, [1954], pp. xlii, 381, \$7.00, 350 B. fr.) This, the second volume of a life of Nelis by the same author, covers the period of his tenure of the see of Antwerp, to which he was appointed in 1785 by the emperor Joseph II. As Nelis had been hitherto an active collaborator of the government in the Belgian Enlightenment, a co-founder for instance of the Académie des Sciences et des Belles Lettres, a member of the commission for the reform of secondary education, and projector of a great collection of the sources of Belgian history comparable to the work of the Bollandist Fathers, there can be no doubt that the emperor anticipated his compliance with the sweeping ecclesiastical and political changes of the Josephist program, just getting under way in Belgium. But Nelis became straightway a conspicuous opponent of Vienna, resisting state control of ecclesiastical affairs and emerging as a leader of the political revolt of 1789. In the latter, moreover, he sided with the Van der Noot party, the party of the old regime as distinguished from the democrats, the Vonckists. Then, increasingly fearful of the revolution in France, he seized the opportunity afforded by Leopold's accession and Leopold's promises of abandoning Josephism and led the Belgian hierarchy toward reconciliation with Vienna. This is in no sense a "popular" biography. It is very learned (the bibliography comprises forty-two pages, of which all but seven are sources), and the style is so leisurely and discursive that reading it is rather like a transcontinental journey in the old days when one got off the train for meals. But it is clearly written, and indeed some part of the discursiveness arises from the author's pains to make a complicated historical situation and his subject's role within it very plain. The author is furthermore scrupulous and comparatively dispassionate. Writing as a Catholic, and a Catholic as anti-Febronian as Nelis was, he is withal fair to Joseph, and he holds no brief for the Van der Noot party of privilege to which Nelis belonged. He doesn't exactly attack it (this is a very gentle book and friendly to Nelis), but he does show more sympathy for the Vonckists. The principal fault that the reviewer has to find with this study, which otherwise offers a great deal to the scholar, is that somehow Nelis himself remains a shadowy figure. A discussion of Nelis' ideas is a discussion of the sources in which they are to be found. An analysis of the motives of his behavior is an analysis always of particular circumstances. There is no attempt to seize and to present in bold strokes (and this is certainly a legitimate exercise of the historical imagination) the inner consistency of mind and character.

FRANCES ACOMB, *Duke University*

LES GRÈVES SOUS LA MONARCHIE DE JUILLET (1830-1847): CONTRIBUTION À L'ETUDE DU MOUVEMENT OUVRIER FRANÇAIS. By Jean-Pierre Aguet.

[*Etudes d'histoire économique, politique et sociale*, VII.] (Geneva, E. Droz, 1954, pp. xxxv, 406, \$6.00.) In the introduction to his *thèse* Jean-Pierre Aguet justly points out that the only serious work hitherto done on labor relations under the July Monarchy has been limited to the insurrections of the Lyons silk workers and to the wave of strikes among the Paris building trades in 1840. His own modest contribution consists of what information he could glean from the Paris press and from official reports found in the Archives nationales on some 386 strikes scattered over the whole of the period. The catalogue admittedly is not complete, nor has he touched the materials to be found in local archives, but he has managed to fill nearly four hundred pages with contemporary descriptions of how relations among workers, employers, and state officials worked out, not merely in periods of crises such as those of 1831–1834 and 1840 but in periods of comparative calm as well. The result, if in no sense amounting to a major reappraisal, does offer a much richer and better balanced image of labor activity in the period. It is no criticism of the author to suggest that for most readers much time can be saved by starting with the introduction and the concluding chapter, in which the author does an admirable job of reviewing his findings, and then treating the body of the work as a series of documentary appendixes to be sampled at will.

JOHN BOWDITCH, *University of Minnesota*

L'ARMISTICE DE 1940 ET L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. By *André Truchet*. Preface by *Louis Marin*. [*Esprit de la Résistance*.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1955, pp. viii, 424, 1,200 fr.) According to the legend propagated by Vichyites, Pétain's regime not only protected Frenchmen against Nazi brutality but actually prevented Hitler from winning the war. The Vichyite line makes Montoire a "diplomatic Verdun," and the 1940 armistice a shrewd bit of calculation which kept Hitler out of North Africa and forced him eventually to commit military suicide in Russia. M. Truchet takes it as his task to explode this legend. The author is an old Morocco hand, a onetime professional army officer, and an intense patriot. In this bulky and exhaustive account of France's dilemma in June, 1940, he weighs and discards all of the contemporary and ex post facto arguments against continuing the fight in North Africa. The triple tragedy, as he sees it, was that the high command blinded itself to any alternative except an armistice; that Reynaud saw clearly but let himself be overwhelmed by events; and that General Noguès, who was marked out by fate to lead the resistance, dared not do what he really wanted to do. M. Truchet argues effectively that North Africa was strong enough to continue the fight, especially if Weygand had adopted a delaying strategy early enough to allow the evacuation of available forces and matériel. Occasionally his assertions are a bit startling—e.g., that France had more first-line planes at the armistice than in September, 1939, or on May 10, 1940. On the whole, however, his sober logic and his massed evidence stand up far better than the jerry-built Vichyite case. It may be true that Hitler made a grave error in failing to occupy North Africa in 1940, but M. Truchet makes it pretty clear that the armistice and Vichy's alleged shrewdness had little to do with the Führer's mistake. Unfortunately, in the process of exploding one legend M. Truchet comes close to propagating another. He suggests that if the French had kept up the fight in 1940, not only the course of the war but the whole character of the postwar era would have been drastically different. France would have emerged a major power, with her empire intact and solid. Furthermore, the presence of France at the wartime conferences would have ensured against the submergence of eastern Europe under a new tyranny, and the disintegration of the central European barrier. Despite these excesses, M. Truchet has written a useful book—one that the French high command is likely to take to heart in planning for a possible future war.

GORDON WRIGHT, *University of Oregon*

ARTICLES

- ROLAND MOUSNIER. L'opposition politique bourgeoise à la fin du xvi^e siècle et au début du xvii^e siècle. L'oeuvre de Louis Turquet de Mayerne. *Rev. hist.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- BERNARD SCHNAPPER. A propos de la doctrine et de la politique coloniales au temps de Richelieu. *Rev. d'hist. des colonies*, 3d and 4th quar., 1954.
- ROLAND MOUSNIER, V. L. TAPIÉ, A. G. MARTIMORT, J. MEUVRET, G. LIVET. Comment les français voyaient la France au xvii^e siècle. *XVII^e siècle*, nos. 25-26, 1955.
- MEYRICK H. CARRÉ. The Old Order and the New: The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. *Hist. Today*, Apr., 1955.
- F. G. PARISET. Journaux de voyages en Lorraine au xvii^e siècle. *Ann. de l'Est*, no. 1, 1955.
- PIERRE BLET. L'article du Tiers aux Etats-Généraux de 1614. *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- GASTON ZELLER. Une légende qui a la vie dure: les Capitulations de 1535. *Ibid.*
- M. CORVISIER. Une source de l'histoire sociale de l'ancien régime. Les archives des corps de troupe. *Bull. Soc. d'hist. mod.*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- JEROME ROSENTHAL. Voltaire's Philosophy of History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- LÉON BÉRARD. Le II^e centenaire de Montesquieu. *Rev. deux mondes*, May 1, 1955.
- P. BÉNICHOU. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: de la personne à la doctrine. *Rev. de métaphysique et de morale*, July-Sept., 1954.
- MARTIN ALBAUM. The Moral Defenses of the Physiocrats' Laissez-faire. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1955.
- PIERRE DE NOLHAC. En marge de l'exposition de Versailles. Le mariage de Marie Antoinette. *Historia*, May, 1955.
- ANDRÉ BELLESSORT. Plaisirs de Marie-Antoinette: Le Théâtre. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1955.
- KARL NOËL. La condition matérielle des esclaves à l'Île de France, période française (1715-1810). *Rev. d'hist. des colonies*, 3d and 4th quar., 1954.
- H. BOURDERON. La lutte contre la vie chère dans la Généralité de Languedoc au xviii^e siècle. *Ann. du Midi*, no. 2, 1954.
- L. DESGRAVES. Les subdélégations et les subdélégés de la Généralité de Bordeaux au xviii^e siècle. *Ibid.*
- JULES R. SACHS. Thomas Jefferson in Paris. *Am. Soc. Legion of Honor Mag.*, Spring, 1955.
- JEAN ÉGRET. Les origines de la Révolution en Bretagne (1788-89). *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- LOUIS TRÉNARD. La crise sociale lyonnaise à la veille de la Révolution. *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- BEATRICE F. HYSLOP. Les cahiers de doléances de 1789. *Ann. hist. Rév. fr.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- GEORGES LEFEBVRE. Bulletin historique: La Révolution et l'Empire. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- LOUIS HASTIER. Lafayette et la fuite du Roi. *Rev. deux mondes*, Feb. 15, 1955.
- SCOTT H. LYTLE. The Second Sex (September, 1793). *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- LOUIS DULIEU. La vie médicale et chirurgicale à Montpellier, du 12 août 1792 au 14 frimaire, An III. *Rev. d'hist. des sci.*, I, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- RICHARD C. COBB. Le mouvement revendicatif parmi les bateliers de l'Oise et de la Marne au cours de l'hiver de 1793-94 [on provisioning Paris]. *Rev. d'hist. éc. et soc.*, no. 4, 1954.
- RICHARD C. COBB. Le témoignage de Ruhl sur les divisions au sein des Comités à la veille du 9 thermidor. *Ann. hist. Rév. fr.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- HOMER L. CALKIN. La propagation en Irlande des idées de la Révolution française. *Ibid.*
- L. DERMIGNY et G. DEBIEN. La révolution aux Antilles-Marins et colons. Marchands et petits blancs (août 1790-août, 1792). *Rev. d'hist. de l'Am. fr.*, Mar., 1955.
- JEAN BOURDON. Les régicides et l'opinion sous le Directoire. *Ibid.*
- FRANÇOIS PIÉTRI. Parlementaires du Premier Empire. *Rev. deux mondes*, Mar. 15, 1955.
- GABRIEL RICHARD. L'exode sur les routes de Lorraine lors de l'invasion de 1814. *Ann. de l'Est*, no. 4, 1954.
- G. FUNKE. Maine de Biran. Die philosophische Begründung der Juste-Milieu-Politik. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Feb., 1955.
- ANDRÉ MARTEL. Tocqueville et les problèmes coloniaux de la Monarchie de Juillet. *Rev. d'hist. éc. et soc.*, no. 4, 1954.
- CLAUDE FOHLEN. La concentration dans l'industrie textile française au milieu du xix^e siècle. *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.

- M. FLEURY. L'intérêt du fonds des faillites aux archives de la Seine comme source des études sur la mobilité sociale aux XIX^e siècle. *Ibid.*
- LOUIS GIRARD. L'affaire du chemin de fer Cette-Marseille (1861-63). *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- ROGER MARLIN. Un journal légitimiste de province sous la Seconde République, *L'Union franco-comtoise*. *Ibid.*
- GILLES GOZARD. Le Crédit foncier de France. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Apr., 1955.
- PAUL LÉON. La première exposition universelle de Paris (1855). *Rev. deux mondes*, May 1, 1955.
- FRANÇOISE DE BERNARDY. Napoléon III chez la Reine Victoria (il y a cent ans). *Historia*, Apr., 1955.
- JEAN TROGOFF. La "Transat" à cent ans [about the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique]. *Ibid.*
- GEORGES TABOULET. Les origines immédiates de l'intervention de la France en Indochine (1857-58). *Rev. d'hist. des colonies*, 3d and 4th quar., 1954.
- RACHEL ARIÉ. L'opinion publique en France et l'affaire de Fachoda. *Ibid.*
- RENÉ BIED-CHARRETON. L'utilisation de l'énergie hydraulique [3 centuries]. *Rev. d'hist. des sci.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- DAVID H. PINKNEY. Napoléon III's Transformation of Paris. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1955.
- PIERRE RIMBERT. Les causes de la défaite de la Commune. *Rev. socialiste*, May, 1955.
- FRANCIS VARENNE. La défaite de Georges Clemenceau à Draguignan en 1893. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Mar., 1955.
- PIERRE RIMBERT. Le cinquantième anniversaire du parti socialiste. I, II. *Rev. socialiste*, Apr., May, 1955.
- MAURICE POLTI. Quarante ans d'impôt sur le revenu. *Rev. deux mondes*, May 1, 1955.
- VICTOR COHEN. Royalism in France. *Contemp. Rev.*, Feb., 1955.
- LÉO HAMON. Un précédent: la tentative d'Union européenne d'Aristide Briand (fin). *L'année polit. et éc.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- J. VIAL. La défense nationale: son organisation entre les deux guerres. *Rev. d'hist. deuxième guerre mondiale*, Apr., 1955.
- CH. BLOCH. Les relations anglo-allemandes (30 septembre, 1938-28 avril, 1939). I. *Ibid.*
- LOUIS GUICHARD. La flotte sacrifiée. *Rev. deux mondes*, Jan. 1, 1955.
- M. CATOIRE. La direction des services de l'armistice à Vichy (II). *Rev. d'hist. deuxième guerre mondiale*, Jan., 1955.
- ROBERT ARON. Il y a dix ans: le retour du Maréchal Pétain en France. *Historia*, Apr., 1955.
- MARIE GRANET. Les Mémoires du Général de Gaulle (1940-42). *Rev. socialiste*, Feb., 1955.
- MAURICE GASSIER. La Constitution de 1946. Ses vices essentiels. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Apr., 1955. [Entire number devoted to the peasant.] *Esprit*, June, 1955.
- GEORGES LANGROD. In Memoriam: Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, May, 1955.
- JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE and JOHN F. McDERMOTT. Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography. *Bull. Inst. fr. de Washington*, Dec., 1954.
- Inventaire de nos collections. *L'Actualité de l'hist.*, Mar., 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- D. LIGOU. Documents sur l'application de l'édit de tolérance dans la Généralité de Montauban. *Ann. du Midi*, no. 2, 1954.
- J. PALOU. Un document inédit sur la fuite du roi et la Constitution civile du clergé. *Ann. hist. Rév. fr.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- RICHARD C. COBB. Quelques documents sur les massacres de septembre. *Ibid.*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- R. BOUIS. Un écho d'une réclamation de Lavoisier en 1793. *Ibid.*, Apr.-June, 1955.
- J. VIDALENC. Quelques textes inédits d'Agricol Perdiguier. *L'Actualité de l'hist.*, Mar.-June, 1955.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

C. J. Bishko¹

CARDINAL QUIROGA: INQUISITOR GENERAL OF SPAIN. By Maurice Boyd, Department of History, Bradley University. (Dubuque, Iowa, Wm. C. Brown, 1954, pp. xi, 163, \$3.00.) From the British Museum Egerton Manuscripts and the standard

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

published materials, Professor Boyd of Bradley University has written the first serious biography of the man whom in 1573 Philip II named inquisitor general of Spain and in 1577 archbishop of Toledo. As a factual reconstruction of the career of a genuinely important and unduly neglected figure, the book is a useful contribution, despite its brevity and its author's inability to consult the Spanish and Vatican archives; and it will not surprise those familiar with recent Philippine revisionism that Gaspar de Quiroga emerges as a moderate in his ecclesiastical reforms and his handling of such inquisitorial questions as those of the Moriscos and Erasmists. On the interpretive side, however, Boyd is less successful. For one thing, he fails to bring out at all clearly the great extent to which Quiroga, as a strong regalist, served as one of Philip II's chief instruments in that monarch's attempted nationalization of the Spanish church through crown-controlled reform, administrative defiance of the papacy, domination of the Jesuit Order, and use of the Inquisition as a weapon of royal power in Spanish Italy no less than in the Peninsula. Secondly, as a moderate, Quiroga needs to be related more specifically and meaningfully to the bitter seesaw struggle between the moderate and extremist wings of the sixteenth-century Spanish church, including the Inquisition itself. Again, as a protégé and intensely loyal member of the Ruy Gómez-Antonio Pérez faction at court, who blocked the king's efforts to convict Pérez of heresy, the old cardinal must be studied much more realistically in his relations with La Éboli and the once powerful *privado*. Finally, the book's effectiveness would have been increased by a livelier style and by less gingerly treatment—along the lines of a Marañón or a Giménez Fernández—of controversial questions involving churchmen.

C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

DON GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA Y LA GUERRA DE SUCESIÓN DE MANTUA Y DEL MONFERRATO (1627-1629). By *Manuel Fernández Alvarez*. (Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1955, pp. 244.) Within the complex politics of the Thirty Years' War the Mantuan War of Succession was significant on two particular counts: as a contest involving purely Catholic powers and as a military defeat presaging the end of Spain's offensive military power during the very years when the Catholic powers generally were enjoying their greatest success. The military and political difficulties of Don Gonzalo Fernández, governor of Milan during the Mantuan crisis, are the subject of this biography. We see a loyal Spanish soldier struggling without sufficient troops or supplies to defeat the French, caught in a quarrel between Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs, out of his depth in the intricate diplomacy and dynastic rivalries in Italy. When the siege of Casale fails, and Spain is thereby frustrated of its ambition to acquire the Mantuan heritage, Don Gonzalo becomes the scapegoat for the diplomatic blunders of Madrid and the suddenly evident decline of Spain's military power. Recalled to Spain in disgrace, he is tried but eventually acquitted by a specially constituted royal commission. The author's account, together with the documental appendix as long as the text itself, makes abundantly clear the lassitude of the Spanish bureaucracy, the swollen ambitions of Olivares, and the inability of Spain to seek solutions of delicate political questions other than by force cloaked in the rationalizations of religion. Sr. Fernández Alvarez is himself emotionally involved in the dilemmas of seventeenth-century Spain. He reiterates that the war was an act of sheer aggression; simultaneously he is moved by the plight of the good soldier motivated at all times by loyalty to His Catholic Majesty. He wishes to vindicate Spanish rule in Italy, unjustly blackened, in his opinion, by Manzoni and the historians of the late nineteenth century; yet such economic and social information as he gives tends only to confirm the belief that Spain's rule in the *Milanesado* was economically backward and was intensely resented by the inhabitants.

GABRIEL JACKSON, *Wellesley College*

ARTICLES

- DOMINIK JOSEF WÖLFEL. La falsificación del "Canarien." *Rev. de hist.* (La Laguna), Oct.-Dec., 1952 [pub. 1954].
- ALEJANDRO CIORANESCU. La crónica de Gadifer de La Salle. *Ibid.*
- P. GROULT. Les courants spirituels dans la péninsule ibérique aux xv^e, xvi^e et xvii^e siècles. *Lettres romanes*, May, 1955.
- FRANCISCO TORRELLA NIUBÓ. El impuesto textil de la bolla en la Cataluña medieval. *Hispania*, July-Sept., 1954.
- SANTIAGO SOBREQUÉS VIDAL. La leyenda y la historia en el sitio "de Gerona" de 1462. *Anales Inst. estud. gerundenses*, 1952 [pub. 1954].
- LUIS CAMÓS CABRUJA. El libro de la administración de la corte real de Gerona, 1462-1463. *Ibid.*
- JUAN DE MATA CARRIAZO. Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478. *Al-Andalus*, no. 2, 1954.
- B. BONNET Y REVERÓN. La conquista de Gran Canaria. *Rev. de hist.* (La Laguna), Oct.-Dec., 1952 [pub. 1954].
- MANUELA MARRERO. De la esclavitud en Tenerife. *Ibid.*
- MARÍA LUISA FABRELLAS. La producción de azúcar en Tenerife. *Ibid.*
- JUAN BENEYTO. La política jurisdiccional y de orden público de los Reyes Católicos. *Rev. estud. polit.*, Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- LUIS BATLLE Y PRATS. El Rey Católico y la ciudad de Gerona. *Anales Inst. estud. gerundenses*, 1952 [pub. 1954].
- JOSÉ M. COLL. Tres confesores del Rey Católico y la ciudad de Gerona. *Ibid.*
- E. A. DE LA TORRE. Viajes y transportes en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos. *Hispania*, July-Sept., 1954.
- JOSÉ CASTRO SEOANE. La traída de libros y vestuarios en el siglo xvi de los misioneros desde sus conventos a Sevilla, pagada por el tesorero de la Casa de la Contratación [cont.]. *Missionalia hispanica*, no. 33, 1954.
- E. SUBIZA. Los médicos de Felipe II: aportación a su estudio. *Arch. iberoamer. de hist. de la med. y antropolog. méd.*, no. 3, 1954.
- LUIS SERRATE ARRUEBO. La última campaña del Duque de Alba. *Hidalguía*, Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- MARQUÉS DE CERRALBO. Los duques de Alba y Santa Teresa. *Ibid.*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- MANUEL BASAS FERNÁNDEZ. Francisco de la Presa, hijodalgo y mercader. Historia de un hombre de negocios del siglo xvi. *Bol. Inst. Fernán González*, no. 4, 1954.
- VALENTÍN VÁSQUEZ DE PRADA. Tapisseries et tableaux flamands en Espagne au xvi^e siècle. *Annales* (Paris), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- A. A. MENDES CORRÊA. Portugal e a Índia. *Bol. Soc. de Geog. de Lisboa*, July-Dec., 1954.
- MIGUEL DE LA PINTA LLORENTE. Historia interna de los Indices Expurgatorios españoles. II [16th-18th centuries.] *Hispania*, July-Sept., 1954.
- PELAYO NEGRE PASTELL. La cofradía de san Jorge y la nobleza gerundense. *Anales Inst. estud. gerundenses*, 1952 [pub. 1954].
- DEMETRIO MANSILLA. El seminario conciliar de san Jerónimo de Burgos. *Hispania sacra*, Jan.-June, 1954.
- R. RICARD. Un spirituel portugais du xvii^e siècle: Fr. Antonio das Chagas. *Rev. d'ascétique et de mystique*, Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- DEMETRIO MANSILLA. Juan de Vallico Capacho, obispo de Astorga (1660-61). *Hispania sacra*, Jan.-June, 1954.
- H. SANCHE DE SOPRANIS. Los armenios en Cádiz (17th century). *Sefarad*, no. 2, 1954.
- R. ROLDÁN Y GUERRERO. Historia del Cuerpo de Farmacia Militar del Ejército español [cont.; 18th century]. *Arch. iberoamer. de hist. de la med. y antropolog. méd.*, no. 3, 1954.
- JORGE DE MACEDO. Portugal e a economia "pombalina." Temas e hipóteses. *Rev. de hist.* (São Paulo), Apr., 1954.
- JOSÉ CABEZUDO ASTRAIN. Noticias históricas de Sos [partial reprint of A. Guillen de Jasso, "Relación de fiestas que celebró la villa de S. en la proclama del rey don Fernando VI," 1747]. *Cuad. hist. J. Zurita*, III, 1952 [pub. 1954].
- AURELIO MARCOS MONTERO. El magisterio en la época de Carlos III. *Rev. esp. de pedagogía*, Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- ANGEL CANELLAS LÓPEZ. La Real Compañía de Comercio y Fábricas de Zaragoza: historia de su primer trienio. [18th cent.] *Cuad. hist. J. Zurita*, III, 1952 [pub. 1954].

- FERNANDO SOLANO COSTA. Influencia de la Guerra de la Independencia en el pueblo español. *Ibid.*
 ANTONIO SERRANO MONTALVÓ. La vida municipal zaragozana en el otoño de 1808. *Ibid.*
Id. La defensa de Canfranc en 1808. *Argensola*, no. 3, 1954.
 ABEL LOBATO. Vida y obra del Padre Francisco Alvarado, O. P. *Arch. hispalense*, no. 67-68, 1954.
 ALBERT J. LOOMIS. The Spanish Marriage Crisis, 1846-1848. *Hist. Bull.*, May, 1955.
 JAIME UTRILLO Y MORLIUS. La población de Cataluña. Notas sobre su estática y su dinámica. *Rev. internac. de sociología*, Jan.-Mar., 1954.
 MANUEL LUCAS ALVAREZ. Evolución histórica del Foro Gallego. *Bol. Univ. de Santiago de Compostela*, nos. 61-62, 1953-54.
 ANTONIO LÓPEZ GÓMEZ. Valdelaguna, colectivismo agrario en las montañas burgaleses. *Estud. geog.*, Nov., 1954.
 RICARDO LEVENE. La concepción de Eduardo de Hinojosa sobre la historia de las ideas políticas y jurídicas en el derecho español y su proyección en el derecho indiano. *Rev. fac. derecho y cien. soc.* (Buenos Aires), Nov.-Dec., 1952.

ARCHIVES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- FEDERICO UDINA MARTORELL. Los fondos genealógico-nobiliarios del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. *Hidalguía*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.
 LUIS SALA BALUST. Catálogo de fuentes para la historia de los antiguos colegios seculares de Salamanca. *Hispania sacra*, Jan.-June, 1954.
 BELISÁRIO PIMENTA. Catálogo e sumário dos documentos de carácter militar existentes nos MSS. da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra [cont.]. *Bol. Arquivo histórico militar*, 1954.
 ALBERTO FARIA DE MORAIS. Ordenanças e ginetes d'El-Rey [D. Manuel I]. *Ibid.*
 H. PHILIP SPRATT. El Museo Naval de Madrid. *Am. Neptune*, Jan., 1955.
 ADRIAN W. KNEPPER. Obadiah Rich: Bibliopole. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. Am.*, no. 2, 1955.
 C. R. BOXER. Some Notes on Portuguese Historiography, 1930-1950. *History*, Feb.-June, 1954.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

William C. Kinsey

ARTICLES

- P. GEYL. Historische appreciaties van het zeventiende-eeuwse Hollandse regenten regiem. *Med. Kon. Vl. Acad. Wet., Kl. Lett.*, XVI, no. 2, 1954.
 W. P. COOHAAS. Een lastig heerschap tegenover een lastig volk (Oostindische Compagnie en Japon). *Verslag, Bijdr. en Med. Hist. Gen.*, (Utrecht), LXIX, 1954.
 GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL. Early Quakerism in the Netherlands. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, Spring, 1955.
 LENNART VAN HEIJNE. Västnakternas försvarsplaner i Belgien och Holland 1939-40. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 8, 1954.
 ROBERT O. J. VAN NUFFEL. Giovanni Arrivabene consigliere provinciale per il Brabante. *Rassegna stor. del Risorgimento*, Apr.-Sept., 1954.
 Democrazia Olandese. *Ponte* (Florence), July-Aug., 1954 [special number with articles by various writers].
 B. A. VERMASEREN. De werkzaamheid van Janus Dousa Sr. als geschiedschrijver van Holland. *Verslag, Bijdr. en Med. Hist. Gen.*, LXIX, 1954.
 J. STENGERS. A propos de la revision de l'article 1^{er} de la Constitution. *Bull. Acad. roy. des sci. col.*, XXV, no. 5, 1954.
 J. P. DUGNOILLE. Quelques recherches récentes sur l'histoire du protestantisme en Belgique. *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.*, XXXIII, no. 1, 1955.
 RUTH SLADE. English Missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England. *Ibid.*
 L. WILLAERT. Le placet royal aux Pays-Bas (fin). *Ibid.*
 HARRY C. M. PRICK. Lodewijk van Deyssel en Mr. Carel Vosmaer. *Nieuwe Taalgids*, XLVIII, no. 3, 1955.
 GERARD BROM. De oorspronkelijkheid van Multatuli. *Ibid.*, nos. 1-2, 1955.

- A. HALLEMA. Het verleden van de Nederlandse Marine in de spiegel van onze Nederlandse letteren. *Marineblad*, Apr., 1955.
- TH. G. A. BAS AMSTERDAM. De Maastol te Eijsden en een Amsterdamse ijzerkoper in 1566. *Maasgouw*, LXIX, no. 2, 1953.
- A. HALLEMA. Utrechtse "Gemeentepolitie" roept de medewerking van het publiek in (1753). *Maandblad van N. Samson*, May, 1955.
- P. VOETEN. De betekenis van het twaalfjarig bestand voor Antwerpen. *Kultuur Leven*, Oct., 1954.
- F. VAN MECHELEN. Sociaal-economische problematiek van de Vlaamse beweging op dit ogenblik. *Gids op maatsch. gebied*, Apr., 1955.
- L. G. A. SLICHTING. Verleden en toekomst van de politieke partijen (in Nederland). *Gemeenebest*, Dec., 1954.
- S. CANCRINUS. De zuivelfabriek in vroeger dagen. *Drenthe*, May, 1955.
- F. PRAKKE. Veenarbeiders in de industrie van Zuid-Oost Drenthe. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- B. RAM. Brederode, de levenskunstenaar en dichter in het 17^e eeuwse Amsterdam. *Ons Amsterdam*, Mar., 1955.
- J. C. A. MEIJER. Oorlogservaring en exercitie in 1815. *Ons Leger*, Apr., 1955.
- B. KONING. Mei 1940-1945-1955. *Ibid.*, May, 1955.
- A. DE BURBURE. Marins et expansionnistes belges dans l'hémisphère hispano-américain. *Rev. col. belge*, May 15, 1955.
- H. Vos. Economische politiek voor en na de oorlog. *Socialisme en democratie*, Apr.-May, 1955.
- A. HALLEMA. Naar een nationale strafwetgeving en een uniforme strafstelsel in de Franse tijd. *Tijdschr. voor gesch.*, LXVII, no. 3, 1954.
- A. TUTEIN NOLTHENIUS. Getijmolens in Suriname. *West-Indische Gids*, Mar., 1955.
- W. H. VAN HELSDINGEN. Het statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. *Ibid.*
- R. HONERMANS. De stormvloed van 1 Februari 1953, in de Antwerpse-Norderpolders. *Bull. Soc. belge d'études géog.*, XXII, no. 2.

DOCUMENTS

- R. FEENSTRA. Een onuitgegeven leenakte van Keizer Karel VI en het einde van den leenband der Noordelijke Nederlanden met het Heilige Roomse Rijk (1728). *Verslag, Bijdr. en Med. Hist. Gen.* (Utrecht), LXIX, 1954.
- F. BERLEMONT. Lettres de J.-C. Ligot et C. Gillain. *Bull. Acad. roy. des sci. col.*, XXV, no. 5, 1954.
- E. VAN GRIEKEN, H. M. Stanley au Congo (1879-84) d'après le manuscrit de Ch. Notte (fin). *Ibid.*
- A. ABEL. Traduction de documents arabes concernant de Bahr-el-Ghazal (1839-94). *Ibid.*
- J. BRUGGEMAN. Nederlandse bronnen voor de geschiedenis van het zogenaamde Jansenisme in België. *Acad. roy. Belg., Bull. Comm. roy. d'hist.*, CXIX, no. 4, 1954.
- J. CUVELIER. L'ancien Congo d'après Pierre van den Broecke (1608-1612). *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. des sci. col.*, N.S., I, no. 2, 1955.
- GEORGES SMETS. Rapport sur le dossier: "Abyssinie 1894-1903." *Ibid.*
- M. BECQUÉ et A. LOUANT. Le dossier "Rome et Louvain" de Charles Périn. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, L, no. 1, 1955.

NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

ARTICLES

- PERCY ELFSTRAND, ed. *Svensk historisk bibliografi 1953* (Stockholm, 1953).
- GERHARD HAFSTRÖM. Svenskt biografiskt lexikon—ett nationalverk. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 3, 1955.
- H. FALCK MYCKLAND. Norges Historie. Bibliografi for 1946-1947. *Hist. Tids.* (Nor.), no. 1, 1955.
- WALTER JOHNSON, ed. American Scandinavian Bibliography for 1954. *Scand. Studies*, no. 2, 1955.
- LEO BUSCHARDT, ALBERT FABRITIUS, and HELGE TØNNESEN. *Besættelsestidens illegale blade og bøger 1940-1945* [a bibliography] (Copenhagen, 1954).
- VAGN DYDBAHL, ANDREAS JØRGENSEN, and FINN H. LAURIDSEN. Oversigt over industrihistorisk litteratur 1945-54. *Erhvervsarkivet*, 1955.

- STURE BOLIN. Sju svenska historiker [the younger generation]. *Scandia*, no. 2, 1953-54.
- D. JELLEMA. Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages [materials from Scandinavia]. *Speculum*, Jan., 1955.
- HENRY GODDARD LEACH. Tynwald Day on the Isle of Man. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- ERIK VANDVIK. Konstantins dåp og Magnus Erlingssons kroning. *Hist. Tids.* (Nor.), no. 1, 1955.
- KJELL KUMLIEN. Magnus Ladulås' jordfästning och det s.k. tredje korståget till Finland. En dateringsfråga. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), no. 1, 1955.
- AXEL NELSON. Studier kring Hälsingelagen. *Ibid.*
- MORRIS FRANKLYN. Olavus Petri, the Luther of Sweden. *Norseman*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- CURT WEIBULL. De svenska universiteten; ursprung och grundande. *Scandia*, no. 2, 1953-54.
- Id.* Historisk forskning och tåget över Bält. *Ibid.*
- SVEN A. NILSSON. De svensk-turkiska förbindelserna före Poltava. *Ibid.*
- KARL-GUSTAV HILDEBRAND. Till Karl XII-uppfattningens historia. II. Från Beskow till Hjärne. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), no. 1, 1955.
- MARTTI KERKKONEN. Nord-Amerika i svensk och finsk föreställningsvärld intill mitten av 1700-talet. *Nord. Tids.*, nos. 7-8, 1954.
- W. R. MEAD. The Spirit of Ensign Stål. *Norseman*, May-June, 1955.
- OLOF MUSTELIN. Fänrik Ståls sägner och dåtidens historieuppfattning. *Finsk Tids.*, no. 3, 1955.
- OLLE GASSLANDER. Christoffer Isak Heurlins självbiografi. *Scandia*, no. 2, 1953-54.
- SIGURD AA. AARNES. Forsynsbegrepet i Erik Gustaf Geijers "Föreläsningar över människans historia." *Nord. Tids.*, nos. 7-8, 1954.
- FRANKLIN D. SCOTT. The Causes and Consequences of Emigration in Sweden. *Chronicle* (Phila.), Spring, 1955.
- LOUIS TISSOT. French Travellers in Norway [19th century]. *Norseman*, May-June, 1955.
- DAG HAMMARSKYÖLD. Ett liv i tro på rätten [Hjalmar Hammarskjöld]. *Nord. Tids. for Int. Ret.*, nos. 3-4, 1954.
- JACOB S. WORM-MÜLLER. Det norske standpunkt. Regjeringsdannelsen i 1905. *Samtiden*, no. 4, 1955.
- S. LINNÉR. Hugo Hamilton. Dagböcker 1911-1916. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 3, 1955.
- KURT WESTERHOLM. Jämförande synpunkter på Färöarnas och Ålands självstyrelse. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 1, 1955.
- REIDAR OMANG. Fifty Years of Norwegian Foreign Policy. *Norseman*, May-June, 1955.
- HALVDAN KOHR. German Reports from Norway, 1939-1940. *Ibid.*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- OTTO JÄRTE. Den 9 april 1940—ett femton-årsminne [Denmark's preparedness]. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 4, 1955.
- IRINA SABUROVA. Soviet Occupation of the Baltic States. *Russian Rev.*, Jan., 1955.
- BJARNE GRAN. Juho Kusti Paasikivi. Hans bakgrunn i finsk politikk til 1944. *Internasj. Pol.*, no. 3, 1955.
- N.F.B. The Political Scene in Finland. *World Today*, May, 1955.
- NILS ANDRÉN. Sverige 1953. I. Den politiska utvecklingen. *Nord. Tids.*, nos. 7-8, 1954.
- ERIK DAHMÉN. Sverige 1953. II. Den ekonomiska utvecklingen. *Ibid.*
- FRANK MEISSNER. Economics of the Agrarian Reform in Sweden. *Norseman*, May-June, 1955.
- ALEKSANDER KAELOS. Vem regerer i Estland? *Sv. Tids.*, no. 1, 1955.
- KAY HECKSCHER. Danish Trade with Russia. *Contemp. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- CARLO CHRISTENSEN. Hans Hedtoft. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- LLEWELLYN CHANTER. The Anglo-Icelandic Fishery Dispute. *Norseman*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- ARNE ORDING. Norway in World Affairs: A Political Survey. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- KNUT GETZ WOLD. Økonomisk samarbeid i Norden. *Samtiden*, no. 2, 1955.
- EINAR LØCHEN. Regjeringssamarbeid eller overnasjonal organisasjon. *Ibid.*
- TORMOD PETTER SVENNEVIG. The Scandinavian Bloc in the United Nations and Its New Outlook. *Norseman*, May-June, 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- Aktstykker om den tyske finanspolitik i Norge 1940-45 [documents are in German]. *Statsøk. Tids.*, no. 4, 1954.
- Danmarks svar på Sovjetunionens note af 13. november med indbydelse til deltagelse i en konference om den europæiske kollektive sikkerhed. *Nord. Tids. for Int. Ret.*, nos. 3-4, 1954.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

ALEXANDER VON BATTENBERG. By Egon Caesar Conte Corti. (London, Cassell, New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, 1955, pp. x, 320, \$4.80.) This excellent biography was published in Austria under the title *Leben und Liebe Alexanders von Battenberg*. The German title is well chosen, for the desire of the crown princess of Germany to marry her daughter Victoria to the dashing young prince of Bulgaria was an important episode in the life of the prince. Bismark, out of deference to Russia, was unalterably opposed to the marriage and successfully blocked the plans of the crown princess even after her husband Frederick III became emperor. In the end Alexander married an actress at the state theater of Darmstadt and assumed the title of count of Hartenau. The volume, however, is far from being a sensational account of the love affairs of the prince, which by the way were exceedingly proper. This biography reveals admirably the significance and intricacies of dynastic relationships as they affected European diplomacy in the late nineteenth century. Corti has used family archives, among them those of his uncle Count Luigi Corti, who was for a time Italian foreign minister. He gives a good account of the origins and connections of the Battenberg family and how young Alexander came to be chosen prince of Bulgaria. Tsar Alexander II supported the prince, but Alexander III always hated him—not only as “morganatic cousin” but because he was a German prince. He intrigued against him as Prince Alexander inaugurated an independent policy of Bulgaria for the Bulgarians. Bismarck constantly kept aloof from Bulgarian affairs, except to urge the prince to make peace with the tsar. Only Queen Victoria offered Alexander support, although English officials were careful not to permit this policy to go so far as to antagonize Russia unduly. The complicated abduction crisis and subsequent abdication are clearly presented. Quotations from letters from family archives show clearly how bitterly anti-Battenberg Russian policy had become. The book is informative, well-written, interesting, and, all told, a fine study.

E. C. HELMREICH, *Bowdoin College*

GERMAN PARLIAMENTS: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN GERMANY. By Richard K. Ullmann and Sir Stephen King-Hall. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1954, pp. iv, 162, \$4.00.) The authors regard their book as “a combined Anglo-German operation . . . with the single object of promoting the cause of parliamentary democracy.” With this laudable aim in view, they present a comprehensive study, not of the German parliament but of representative institutions and the parliamentary idea in Germany. The treatment is brief and compact, the writing excellent, and the historical facts accurate. But issue will be taken with their conclusion that, despite the persistence in German history of authoritarianism in one form or another, from Prussian autocracy to the plebiscitarian caesarism of the Weimar Republic, “there is a sound basis for representative government in Germany.” The evidence seems to point the other way. Again and again in German history, constitutional “development” was achieved not by peoples conquering their rulers, as had been the case in Britain, France, and the United States, but rather was the more-or-less free gift of rulers who made concessions as a result of military defeat and national humiliation. From the pseudo-parliamentarianism of the Kaiserreich to the Nazi Third Reich the center of political power has consistently remained at the upper levels, where parliamentarianism was held in contempt. Frederick the Great called the Reichstag “a phantom, an assembly of publicists . . . who bark at the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

moon like watchdogs." In 1837, Ernest Augustus, king of Hanover, in abrogating the constitution of 1833, announced that "professors, whores, and ballet dancers can be had anywhere for money." Frederick William I graciously proclaimed, "I leave the stink of the Diet to my gentlemen Junkers." Frederick William IV refused to accept "a crown of filth and mud from the hands of the people's representatives." Albrecht von Roon, Bismarck's sponsor, spoke of the "constitutional swindle" and the "cesspool of liberalism," while Bismarck himself loathed the "muddy wave of parliamentarianism" and denounced it in his famous "iron-and-blood" speech. William II was certain that "there is only one master in this country," prompting the historian Mommsen to complain about "the pseudo-constitutional absolutism under which we live." To Hitler democracy was simply "a putrescent corpse." Though the authors feel that "there is plenty of evidence that the democratic idea is perfectly familiar to the German people," it is questionable whether either the German people or their rulers, on the basis of their historical experience, have been deeply attracted by the possibility of a long-term and peaceful evolution of political democracy. Max Weber placed the blame on Bismarck, who "left behind, as a political heritage, a nation without any political education . . . [or] political will."

LOUIS L. SNYDER, *City College of New York*

DEUTSCHE PARTEIPROGRAMME, 1861-1954. By *Wolfgang Treue*. [Quellen-sammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Band III.] (Göttingen, Musterschmidt, 1954, pp. 319.)

- This work is one of a series of similar volumes intended to provide students and the general public in Germany with "the most important sources" in the various fields of historical study generically called *Kulturgeschichte*. It includes, in their entirety or in extract form, sixty-two "programs" of most of the major—as well as many minor—German parties from Bismarck's time to the present. In accordance with the general pattern established for the entire series, the author prefaces the collection with an introduction that endeavors to outline the historical development of the German party system over the last eighty years. It is not too satisfactory a survey since it not only includes many value judgments but in places distorts the evolution of parties, particularly during the important period 1918-1933. The Nazi party is briefly discussed in terms of its meaningless inaugural program of 1920—issued five months after Hitler became its seventh member—the only one of its innumerable proclamations to be included in this collection. As for the other programs presented, it is not clear what principles governed the selection of many. There appears to be no justification for the presentation of the 1945 proclamation of Grotewohl's self-constituted "Central Committee" of the SPD as *the* Social Democratic "program" prior to 1952. Nor can this reviewer see other than, at best, purely academic significance in the "programs" of such politically unimportant and transient groups as Stöcker's Christian Socialist Worker's party and various post-1945 splinter factions. In general, the volume obscures the most significant aspect of the evolution of the "programs" of the more important German political movements. That is their transformation from rather doctrinaire, vague proclamations of fundamental ideological principles into pragmatic and detailed *Aktionsprogramme*, resembling more and more British electoral manifestoes and American campaign platforms. This change reflects the evolution of relatively small and politically ineffectual vested interest groups into mass organizations actively participating in the political life of a modern state, commanding and soliciting the support of the heterogeneous electorate of a democratic society.

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Air University*

HITLER, REICHSWEHR UND INDUSTRIE: ZUR GESCHICHTE DER JAHRE 1918-1933. By *George W. F. Hallgarten*. (Frankfurt am Main, Europäische Verlagsan-

stalt, 1955, pp. 139. cloth DM 7.50, paper DM 4.80.) This slim but pithy volume contains two studies dealing with the "fateful role" of German heavy industry in the affairs of the Weimar Republic and in the rise of Hitler. The first, "Stinnes, Seeckt, and Hitler," covers the crucial years 1922-1923 and is based primarily on the Seeckt papers and on some extremely interesting documents of the United States Department of State from the National Archives (some of them published here). It traces the machinations of Hugo Stinnes to save and expand his economic empire through collaboration with France (conversations with de Lubersac) or through rearmament (under a dictatorship headed by Seeckt), both at the ultimate expense of German labor, whose union activities were to be curbed, and whose working day was to be lengthened to ten hours. The second study, "Hitler and German Heavy Industry," an expanded version of an article first published in the *Journal of Economic History* (1952) discusses the financial contributions of certain large industrial and banking concerns to the always bankrupt Nazi party, thus supporting, though not necessarily "making," the Hitler movement. Both studies, as *Vorarbeiten* to a bigger work, and for lack of full sources, are necessarily somewhat sketchy. But this does not detract from the valuable insights they give into that dark corner of German history where business and politics meet.

HANS W. GATZKE, *Johns Hopkins University*

ARTICLES

- HEINZ GOLLWITZER. Unbekannte Versuche einer Erneuerung des Königlichen Kammergerichts in den Jahren 1505-1506. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Apr., 1955.
- HEINZ ZATSCHKE. Aus der Vergangenheit des deutschen Handwerks. *Archiv. f. Kulturgesch.*, no. 1, 1955.
- G. W. LOCHER. Das Geschichtsbild Huldrych Zwinglis. *Theol. Zeitsch.*, 1953, pp. 275-302.
- ERNST WALTER ZEEDEN. Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe. *Gesch. in Wiss. u. Unterr.*, 1954, pp. 470-87.
- Id. Reformation und Gegenreformation in Jacob Burckhardts Historischen Fragmenten. *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.
- Id. Probleme und Aufgaben der Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung. *Gesch. in Wiss. u. Unterr.*, Apr., May, 1955.
- FRIEDRICH HERMANN SCHUBERT. Die pfälzische Exilregierung im Dreissigjährigen Krieg. *Zeitsch. f. d. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 2, 1954.
- ANTON ERNSTBERGER. Für und wider Wallenstein. . . *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.
- MAX BRAUBACH. Prinz Eugen und das 18. Jahrhundert. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Apr., 1955.
- Id. Prinz Eugen im Kampf um die Macht, 1701-1705. *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.
- KARL ERICH BORN. Friedrich der Grosse im Urteil der Konservativen. *Gesch. in Wiss. u. Unterr.*, Apr., 1955.
- MAX SPINDLER. Der Ruf des barocken Bayern. *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.
- KLAUS DODERER. Das englische und französische Bild von der deutschen Romantik. *Germ.-Rom. Monatssch.*, Apr., 1955.
- ERNST KLEIN. Der Bauernaufstand in Schlesien im Februar 1811. *Zeitsch. f. Geschichtswiss.*, no. 1, 1955.
- KARL OTMAR FREIHERR VON ARETIN. Metternichs Verfassungspläne 1817/1818. . . *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.
- LEO JUST. Göttes in Heidelberg. *Ibid.*
- ULRICH NOACK. Das Werden unseres Geschichtsbildes im Geiste Rankes. . . *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH GRISAR. Das Kölner Ereignis nach Berichten italienischer Diplomaten. *Ibid.*
- KARL BUCHHEIM. Kettelers Gegenkandidat. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Parteiengeschichte um 1848. *Ibid.*
- WERNER OHNESORGE. Georg Heinrich Pertz und die Landesgeschichte. *Ibid.*
- ERNST WALTER ZEEDEN. Die Auseinandersetzung des jungen Jacob Burckhardt mit Glauben und Christentum. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Dec., 1954.
- WERNER KAEGI. Die Vorträge Jacob Burckhardts über die "Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen." *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1955.

- FRANZ HERRE. Der bayerische Gesandte in Berlin, Freiherr Pergler von Perglas, und die Bismarcksche Regierung. *Ibid.*
- THEODOR MAUNZ. Der Bundesrat in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. *Ibid.*
- PETER RASSOW. Zur Interpretation des Rückversicherungsvertrages. *Ibid.*
- MAXIMILIAN VON HAGEN. "Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg." *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Apr., 1955.
- PAUL KLUCKHOHN. Die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert in der deutschen Dichtung. *Deutsche Vierteljahrssch. f. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, no. 1, 1955.
- HELMUT BLEIBER. Die Moabiter Unruhen 1910. *Zeitsch. f. Geschichtswiss.*, no. 2, 1955.
- RICHARD PIPES. Max Weber and Russia. *World Pol.*, Apr., 1955.
- WILLY ANDREAS. Zur Geschichtsschreibung von Erich Marcks. *Zeitsch. f. d. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 2, 1954.
- C. F. LATOUR. Portrait of a German Historian, Friedrich Meinecke. *Historian*, Spring, 1955.
- ERICH WITTENBERG. Friedrich Meinecke och hans tid. Till minnet av en stor europé. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 5, 1954.
- KARL DIETRICH ERDMANN. Das Problem der Ost- oder Westorientierung in der Locarno-Politik Stresemanns. . . . *Gesch. in Wiss. u. Unterr.*, Mar., 1955.
- ERICH EYCK. Neues Licht auf Stresemanns Politik. *Deutsche Rundsch.*, Feb., 1955.
- ALFRED STEIN. Adolf Hitler und Gustave le Bon. *Gesch. in Wiss. u. Unterr.*, June, 1955.
- WALTER WERNER PESE. Hitler und Italien 1920-1926. *Vierteljahrsh. f. Zeitgesch.*, Apr., 1955.
- REGINALD H. PHELPS. Die Autoren des Eher-Verlages. *Deutsche Rundsch.*, Jan., 1955.
- ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI. The German-Polish Nonaggression Pact of 1934. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- HANS BUCHHEIM. Die SS in der Verfassung des Dritten Reiches. *Vierteljahrsh. f. Zeitgesch.*, Apr., 1955.
- PHILIP FRIEDMAN. The Jewish Badge and the Yellow Star in the Nazi Era. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr., 1955.
- JOSEPH TENENBAUM. The Einsatzgruppen. *Jewish Social Stud.*, Jan., 1955.
- WALTER HUBATSCH. Die deutsche Berufsdiplomatie im Kriege: Um die dänische Souveränität 1940-1943. *Aussenpolitik*, Mar., 1955.
- KLAUS ALTMAYER. Die Dokumente vom 5. Juni 1945 und die politische Einheit Deutschlands. *Europa-Archiv*, Mar. 5, 1955.
- HELMUT R. KÜLZ. Die Wiederherstellung einer vorläufigen deutschen Staatsgewalt in den Erörterungen zwischen Ost und West seit 1945. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1955.
- JAMES K. POLLOCK. The West German Electoral Law of 1953. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- TAYLOR COLE. Neo-Fascism in Western Germany and Italy. *Ibid.*
- LUJO TONČIĆ-SORINJ. Das Schicksal Triests: seine Bedeutung und Stellung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. *Europa-Archiv*, Apr. 20, 1955.
- THEODORA VON DER MUEHLL. Johann Amerbach und seine Vaterstadt. *Neue Schweizer Rundsch.*, Mar., 1955.
- WOLFGANG VON WARTBURG. Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg und sein Erziehungsstaat. *Schweiz. Zeitsch. f. Gesch.*, no. 1, 1955.
- ERNST-OTTO MÄTZKE. Die schweizerische Presskontrolle im 2. Weltkrieg. *Vierteljahrsh. f. Zeitgesch.*, Apr., 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- KURT HANNEMANN. Unbekannte Melanchtonbriefe im badischen Bibliotheksbesitz an den Pfarrer Heinrich Ham(me) in der Neumark. *Zeitsch. f. d. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 2, 1954.
- DIETER ALBRECHT. Tillybriefe in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek. *Oberbayer. Archiv.*, 1954.
- WILHELM TREUE, ed. Hitlers Denkschrift zum Vierjahresplan. *Vierteljahrsh. f. Zeitgesch.*, Apr., 1955.

ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

- NON MOLLARE (1925). By Gaetano Salvemini, Ernesto Rossi, and Piero Calamandrei. (Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1955, pp. 117, L. 2500.) During a visit to Florence, shortly

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

after the end of the Second World War, I was shown a copy of *Non Mollare*, the first anti-Fascist underground newspaper. It was a tattered and unimpressive sheet, but my Italian friends handled it reverently. That evening the conversation turned naturally to the history of *Non Mollare* and the fateful year 1925, when Fascism moved resolutely to consolidate its power. Opponents of the regime made brave, but futile, attempts to halt the growing dictatorship. At Florence the opposition centered around Gaetano Salvemini, Carlo Rosselli, later to lead the Justice and Liberty movement against Mussolini from exile in France, started the clandestine publication of *Non Mollare* some few days after Mussolini's defiant speech on January 3, 1925. Despite almost unsurmountable difficulties *Non Mollare* continued to appear until October 5, 1925. The bloody days of October, during which Fascist thugs took over in Florence to assault, beat, and murder those suspected of "illegal" activities against the regime, forced the editors of *Non Mollare* to cease publication. Thirty years after its brief existence, *Non Mollare*, now very rare, becomes once more available. Photographic reproductions of almost all its issues (two or three have understandably gone astray) are included in this edition. From their personal experiences Gaetano Salvemini, Ernesto Rossi, and Piero Calamandrei reconstruct, in three introductory essays, the history of *Non Mollare* and its collaborators and describe the climate of growing Fascist repression in Florence during 1925. This volume should occupy a prominent place in the library of any student of Italian Fascism and of the resistance to it. It is a source of rare importance.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER, *Watertown, Massachusetts*

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Nona Serie: 1939-1943. Volume I (4 SETTEMBRE-24 OTTOBRE 1939). (Rome, Ministero degli Affari esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici, 1954, pp. lxvi, 643.) During the first phase of the war and while Italy was still a nonbelligerent, all the world's foreign offices were watching and many were courting her. This situation offered an exceptional opportunity for the pursuit of an independent foreign policy, naturally reflected in the Italian documents, during what their able editor, Mario Toscano, points out was "one of the most important chapters in Italian foreign policy" (p. ix). The quantity and quality of material has occasioned a revision of the editorial plan described in the review of the preceding volume (*AHR*, January, 1954, p. 368): four volumes, instead of two, will now be required to carry the story from September 4, 1939, to June 11, 1940. The simultaneous publication of the first volumes in Series V was planned expressly to permit a comparative study of the period of Italian neutrality in the First World War. Students of American foreign policy will read with some interest the Italian ambassador's dispatch sent from Berlin on September 16. "If my information is correct," he wrote, "—and I shall have confirmation of it in the next few days—even America is looking to Italy. At any rate both South and North Americans contemplate carrying on at least a part of their legitimate trade via Italy. It is therefore toward her that all of them, as if compelled by nature, are turning, drawn by a force of political gravitation in the pursuit of their policy of guaranteeing and reinforcing the independence of the neutrals" (no. 258, p. 160). But the volume will have its fascination for many who have no special interest in Italian or American foreign policy. There is information on every country in the world, particularly on such subjects as the rival Russian and Anglo-French negotiations with Turkey, Russo-Japanese relations, the projected Balkan pact and the Panama Conference. Greatest attention will inevitably focus, however, on the generally shrewd observations of Rosso in Moscow, Attolico in Berlin, and of Bastianini on his arrival in London (the last document in the volume).

GORDON GRIFFITHS, *Lawrence College*

ARTICLES

- GIULIO VALLESE. Recenti studi sul Valla. *Delta*, no. 6, 1954.
- PIO BONDIOLI. Il contributo lombardo alle prove del miracolo di Re. *Memorie stor. della Diocesi di Milano*, I, 1954.
- GIOVANNI PONTE. La datazione del "Teogenio" di L. B. Alberti. *Convivium*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.
- EZIO RAIMONDI. Pomponazzi e l'immortalità dell'anima. *Ibid.*
- DELIO CANTIMORI. Castellioniana (et Servetiana). *Riv. stor. ital.*, Mar., 1955.
- ALBERTO TENENTI. Gli schiavi di Venezia alla fine del cinquecento. *Ibid.*
- WALTER BINNI. La formazione della poetica arcadica e la letteratura fiorentina di fine seicento. *Rassegna della letteratura ital.*, Oct.-Dec. 1954.
- GUIDO VERUCCI. I moti italiani del 1831 negli ideali di politica estera del giornale cattolico *L'Avenir* (1830-1831). *Riv. stor. ital.*, Mar., 1955.
- ETTORE PASSARIN. Moderati e democratici, lotta politica e lotta sociale in Italia nel 1860. *Quaderni di cultura e storia sociale*, June-July, 1954.
- SEXSON E. HUMPHREYS. Two Garibaldian Incidents in American History. *Vermont Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- [Entire issue devoted to Fasci Siciliani]. *Movimento Operaio*, Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- Education and the Defense of Italy's Artistic Heritage. *Italian Affairs*, Jan., 1955.
- The "Vanoni Plan": A Program for Increasing Employment and Income in Italy during the Ten-Year Period 1955-1964. *Ibid.*, Mar.-May, 1955.
- Italy and Eritrea. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1955.
- UMBERTO PIROTTI. La tradizione italiana e un suo recente interprete [Leonardo Olschki]. *Convivium*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- PIERO CAMPORESI, ed. Documenti per la storia del Romanticismo italiano: pensieri inediti di Pietro Borsieri. *Convivium*, Mar.-Apr., 1955.

EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley

ARTICLES¹

- ZYGMUNT GASIOROWSKI. The German-Polish Nonaggression Pact of 1934. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- GOTTHOLD RHODE. Die Entstehung der Curzon-Linie. *Osteuropa*, Apr., 1955.
- ZYGMUNT GASIOROWSKI. Did Pilsudski Attempt to Initiate a Preventive War in 1933? *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1955.
- JEAN MALARA. Poland after the Death of Stalin. *Problems of Communism*, IV, no. 2, 1955.
- S. M. STETSKEVICH. The May 1 demonstration in Warsaw in 1905 [in Russian]. *Voprosy ist.*, May, 1955.
- HENRYK JABŁOŃSKI. Un nouvel aperçu de l'histoire de la Poméranie [in Polish; French and Russian summaries]. *Kwartalnik Hist.*, LXI, no. 4, 1954 [this issue contains three other articles on Pomerania].
- KRYSZYNA ŚRENIOWSKA. Idées de Stanisław Zakrzewski sur les origines de l'état et de la nation polonaise [in Polish; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- IGNACY PAWŁOWSKI. Le mouvement révolutionnaire dans les troupes de la région militaire de Varsovie en 1905 [in Polish; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- ANDRZEJ WYCHAŃSKI. Remarques sur le domaine seigneurial polonais au xvi^e siècle [in Polish; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- J. MACEK. La question des nationalités dans le mouvement révolutionnaire hussite [in Czech; French and Russian summaries]. *Československý časopis hist.*, III, no. 1, 1955.

¹ Additional historical articles from Russian and other East European language journals are listed in the monthly issues of the Library of Congress publications *East European Accessions List* and *Monthly List of Russian Accessions*.

- J. KOŘÁLKA. Comment le peuple allemand de Tchécoslovaquie devint la proie du fascisme [in Czech; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- I. STANEK. Le Vatican—allié des populistes slovaques et du soi-disant Etat slovaque [in Czech; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- A. TEICHOVÁ. Sur l'activité payée des membres d'Assemblée Nationale dans la période électorale 1929-1935. [in Czech; French and Russian summaries]. *Ibid.*
- FRANK MEISSNER. Mandatory Delivery Quotas in Czechoslovak Agriculture. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- EDUARD TABORSKY. The Administration of Justice in a "People's Democracy." *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- GORDON SKILLING. The Soviet Impact on the Czechoslovak Legal Revolution. *Soviet Stud.*, Apr., 1955.
- I. N. MEL'NIKOVA. The Struggle of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia, 1924-25 [in Russian]. *Voprosy ist.*, Mar., 1955.
- A. I. NEDOREZOV. The Struggle of the Czechoslovak People for Revolutionary Change, 1945-48 [in Russian]. *Ibid.*, May, 1955.
- DEZHE NEMESH. The Origins of the Hungarian People's Republic [in Russian]. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1955.
- N. I. KAZAKOV. Russian-Bulgarian Relations during the Russo-Turkish War, 1806-1812 [in Russian]. *Ibid.*, June, 1955.
- JOSEPH FRANKEL. Federalism in Yugoslavia. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- VASA ČUBRILOVIĆ. La première insurrection serbe [in Serbian; French summary]. *Istoriski Glasnik*, no. 1-2, 1954 [the entire issue (11 articles) is devoted to the Serbian insurrection of 1804].
- IVAN AVAKUMOVIC. Literature on the Marxist Movement in Yugoslavia. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- J. FRANKEL. Communism and the National Question in Yugoslavia. *Ibid.*
- N. M. GELBER. An Attempt to Internationalize Salonika, 1912-1913. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Apr., 1955.

SOVIET UNION¹

THE MIND OF MODERN RUSSIA: HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF RUSSIA'S GREAT AGE. Edited by *Hans Kohn*. (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1955, pp. xii, 298, \$5.50.) The nineteenth century in Russian history is the golden age. Glancing through the pages of this period one is unable not to marvel at the number of eminent figures in Russian intellectual life. What an irony of fate: "tsarist reactionary era" left a far richer legacy than the barren decades of the revolutionary era. Professor Hans Kohn gathered a fairly representative group of such men to illustrate this fertile period. Before the reader pass the gloomy reflections of Chaadayeve, the interpretations of Russian history by Pogodin, the biting essays of Belinsky, and the social commentaries of Chernyshevsky. Here are also the never-dimmed hopes of Herzen, the often quoted and as often misinterpreted Pan-Slav bugbear Danilevsky, the political mysticism of Berdyayev, and the scholarly observations of Russian religious life of Fedotov. What a gallery of Russian eminence! One may question at times the wisdom of the chosen material, doubting whether all of the citations reflect the "mind of Russia." One wonders if certain passages from Dostoevsky or Tolstoy would not be more fitting than the threadbare citations from Slavophil and Pan-Slav writings. Unless one understands the political climate that prevailed during the past century, these writings lend themselves to lamentable political abuse. With this reservation I recommend the book as "the key to the mind of Russia." It is not a master key, but it may unlock certain "enigmatic" aspects of the Russian mind.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR, *Stanford University*

¹ Because of the pressure of other duties, Dr. Sergius Yakobson has resigned as the compiler of the list of articles on the Soviet Union. Under the editorship of Dr. Fritz Epstein of the Library of Congress, the list will be resumed in the January issue.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917: A PERSONAL RECORD. By N. N. Sukhanov. Edited, Abridged and Translated by Joel Carmichael, from *Zapiski o Revolutsii*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xxxvii, 691, \$10.00.) Written in Russian and published in Germany in 1922, Sukhanov-Himmer's seven-volume work now becomes accessible to English readers in a large one-volume abridgment by Joel Carmichael, who has done an excellent job of translating and editing. The book conveys perhaps better than any other single volume in English the excitement and passions of the day-to-day events from February to October, 1917, in St. Petersburg. However, it would be misleading to evaluate the book simply as a memoir. Sukhanov, a member of the Soviets' Executive Committee, was an ardent Menshevik in outlook (his party affiliation came late, but his commitment was to an analysis rather than to an organization), and his interpretations are rigidly governed thereby. Believing that the February Revolution could only be "bourgeois," he recounts in a passage bordering on the fantastic how he, as a spokesman for the "proletariat," tried to press full power on the Cadet leader Miliukov and was enraged when the latter replied in puzzled, non-committal terms (p. 56); he reports tolerantly that "Miliukov *didn't know* that he was carrying out an ultra-class policy . . ." (p. 302). Fantasy leaps to a higher dimension when Sukhanov, who speaks constantly and innocently as a leader of Russian "democracy," brushes aside the interests of the peasant majority with the warning that the "basic tasks" of the revolution "could only be successfully performed provided it [the peasantry] remained neutral and offered no hindrance." But Sukhanov's assumptions and illusions, which were widely shared by the Menshevik-SR leadership of the Soviets, are historical facts of great significance in themselves. This leadership exerted an influence on the shifting Provisional Government which ranged from an effective veto to outright dictation. The Menshevik-SR approach to the towering problem of whether Russia should continue fighting the Central Powers was ambiguous, their effort to deal with domestic problems ineffectual. More sense and competence might indeed have entered the scene in time, but few could foresee that October 25 would mark the end, for generations, of the opportunity for the Sukhanovs of Russia.

DONALD W. TREADGOLD, *University of Washington*

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM, 1939-1945. By John A. Armstrong. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 322, \$5.50.) The last war offered the first opportunity for the Ukrainian nationalists to realize their aspirations. Since neither the Soviet Union nor the Germany of Hitler had plans for an independent Ukraine, the Ukrainian movement for national independence was foredoomed. But in the struggle much was revealed about the character of Ukrainian nationalism. Dr. Armstrong has rendered a great service in gathering this widely scattered material. He has exploited official German records, the press of the occupied Ukraine, Soviet memoirs, and, moreover, memoirs of participants in the form of interviews. The material is well marshaled; conflicting evidence is carefully weighed. By the time Dr. Armstrong presents his conclusions, the reader has been sufficiently informed to have his own views on the validity of these conclusions. The book argues that Ukrainian nationalism, especially in Galicia, was a real political force. The author believes that the most radical of the nationalist groups, the OUN, was essentially fascist in outlook. He feels that, in the circumstances, the West Ukrainian nationalists were quite successful. Without being dogmatic, he tends to accept the existence of a nationalist spirit of political importance in the Soviet Ukraine. Some readers might feel that the conclusions reflect the West Ukrainian view—as might well be expected since the most important interviews were with West Ukrainian leaders. Polish mistreatment of the Ukrainians is presented in some detail; Ukrainian

mistreatment of the Poles—which was of shorter duration but at least as cruel—is slighted. The importance of the historical, cultural, and religious differences between the East and West Ukrainians is somewhat minimized. But variations in interpretation are both inevitable and proper in a subject of such complexity. This monograph is a valuable contribution to the literature and will probably remain the most useful book on the subject for many years.

HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN, *Washington, D. C.*

Near Eastern History

*Sidney Glazer*¹

A HISTORY OF THE SUDAN: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1821. By *A. J. Arkell*, Reader in Egyptian Archaeology, University of London, late Sudan Political Service. With a Foreword by Sir *Harold MacMichael*. (London, University of London, Athlone Press; New York, John de Graff, 1955, pp. xviii, 249, 24 plates, \$4.00.) The importance of Africa and the key role of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in central African history lend significance to this book. Mr. Arkell is well prepared for his task by his professional qualifications and long government service in the Sudan. He covers the period from earliest times to A.D. 1821 but stresses relations between the Sudan and Egypt. Incredible as it now seems, the seventh-century kingdom of Cush in the Sudan not only controlled Egypt but was the seat of a world power. Bible students will note with interest the reference to Cushite Egypt and militant Assyria when tiny Judah lay in the path of the mighty powers as well as the suggestion that the eunuch converted by Philip was the servant of a queen of Cush. The high culture and political sophistication of the Sudan in the early centuries present a striking contrast to the chaotic conditions of the more recent past. Desiccation, overgrazing, erosion, and the lessening of outside contacts were important factors in the decline of Sudanese greatness and may well serve as object lessons for later peoples. Mr. Arkell's treatment is painstaking and sometimes laborious, but when the reader raises his head above the rubble and rocks of archaeology he may be thrilled with a panoramic view of the real romance of history in this fascinating region. Mastery of minutiae, a capacity to interrelate facts, and an ability to execute the grand sweep historically are outstanding traits of the author. He skillfully interweaves the techniques of history, archaeology, and anthropology. The American scholar could quibble over a few vague references and the condensed footnotes, but the excellent plates, figures, maps, and bibliographical items are important aids to the text. The book is an able, concise, and valuable contribution to the history of an important but too often neglected area.

GARLAND G. PARKER, *University of Cincinnati*

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT. By *Sarkis Atamian*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. 479, \$4.75.) If the ambitious author of this work had done what he claims to have done, then his work would have become a valuable sociological case study, based on the historical development of certain ideas and ideals: a careful study of a few large Armenian communities here, showing their place and their share in such places, their peculiar mores and customs, indicating to what degree these have impeded or aided in the assimilation of the Armenians. There is need for such a work, and a definite place for it on the shelves of many large libraries. Unfortunately Mr. Atamian, a former member of the sociology department of the University of Rhode Island, has not done this. Instead, he escorts his reader to the Ottoman Empire of the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

nineteenth century and then attempts to describe for him the conditions under which Armenians lived there. In this he burdens himself with the task of unraveling the Ottoman administration, the Near Eastern diplomacy of the Powers, the Armeno-Kurdish and Armeno-Turkish relations, and also the group relations of Armenians among themselves, which he naïvely epitomizes as class conflict. (Cf. the chapter on revolutionary movement, especially pages 117-25.) It is this phantom notion of class conflict which forms the kernel of this work. Mr. Atamian's knowledge of the subject, as indicated from the sources used and the manner they have been used, is limited; and his ability to utilize important Armenian works, judging from translations and transliterations of Armenian titles, is hardly adequate. (Cf. the translation inserted on page 161.) There are numerous factual errors, two of which may be noted. The Armenian Catholicos of Echmiadzin did not designate the prelate of the Armenian Church in America (p. 360). He was duly elected here in this diocese. On page 335 he mentions a certain person as being a party man; there he also casts aspersions on an organization. It can be stated flatly that these assertions are baseless.

A. O. SARKISSIAN, *Library of Congress*

THE MIDDLE EAST, 1945-1950. By *George Kirk*. [Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946. Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. vi, 338, \$7.50.) To write a diplomatic history of a period within half a decade after its close would appear to be quite impossible if objectivity were the goal. However, George Kirk's introductory twenty-page synthesis and review of the interplay of international and local policies in the Middle East for the years under consideration are a remarkably dispassionate summary and analysis of a subject highly emotional in content. It is likely that his judgments will be valid for many, many years. Following Part I are more detailed accounts of the international affairs of Turkey, Iran (Persia), Lebanon, and Syria. Highlighted here are Soviet pressures upon Turkey for control of the Straits, the Truman Doctrine with respect to Turkey, Soviet advances upon Iran, Anglo-Iranian oil problems, and the independence of Lebanon and Syria. Lesser problems of these states and relations with their Middle Eastern neighbors are largely neglected, along with the affairs of Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf dependencies. The great bulk of the volume is concerned with British relations with Egypt, Iraq, Cyprus, and Palestine. The main theme is the necessary adjustments concomitant with the realization of the change in the world position of the British Empire. Again, the greatest emphasis is on Palestine, the establishment of the state of Israel, the Palestine war, and its aftermath to 1950. The course of affairs here is carefully followed step by step from the mandate difficulties, Zionist attitudes and positions, Arab moves, United Nations debates and actions, guerrilla warfare, war and truce and war and armistice, and the Three Powers' Declaration of 1950. In this great contemporary problem of the Middle East, Mr. Kirk achieves considerable impartiality. Arabs may not appreciate many of his views and evaluations and undoubtedly will object to them on the basis of his repeated reference in footnotes to Zionist and Jewish apologists such as Kimche, Sacher, and Bilby. Zionist and Israeli leaders certainly will object since the author is just as forthright in putting his finger on Zionist activities and machinations as he is in discussing those of the Arabs.

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER, *Ohio State University*

ARTICLES

- ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. The Ottoman Empire in World History. *Proc. Am. Philosophical Soc.*, XCIX, no. 3, 1955.
 A. A. PALLIS. A Turkish Seventeenth Century Baedeker: Evliya Tchaleby. *Islamic Lit.*, Oct., 1954.
 H. ST. JOHN B. PHILBY. The Land of Midian. *Middle East Jour.*, Spring, 1955.

- N. ADONTZ. Political Currents in Ancient Armenia. *Armenian Rev.*, Spring, 1955.
- RICHARD N. FRYE. Aspects of Ancient Armenian History. *Ibid.*
- ŞERİF BAŞTAV. The Siege and Capture of Istanbul According to an Anonymous Ottoman History Written in Greek in the 16th Century [in Turkish]. *Belleten*, Jan., 1954.
- AFİF ERZEN. The Foundation of the City of Istanbul and Its Names [in Turkish; English summary]. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1954.
- ADNAN SADIK ERZEN. Studies on the History of the Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*
- S. D. GOITEIN. The Last Phase of R. Yehuda Halevi's Life in the Light of the Geniza Papers [in Hebrew]. *Tarbiz*, Oct., 1954.
- MUŞTAFÂ JAWÂD. The *ribâs* of Baghdad [in Arabic]. *Sumer*, no. 2, 1954.
- GEORGE MAKDISI. Notes on Hilla and the Mazyadids in Medieval Islam. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Oct., 1954.
- BUDDHA PRAKASH. Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History. *Islamic Culture*, Oct., 1954.
- H. R. ROEMER. Vorschläge für die sammlung von urkunden zur islamischen geschichte Persiens. *Zeitsch. d. deutschen morgenländischen Ges.*, no. 2, 1954.
- STEVEN RUNCIMAN. Life in the Crusader States. *Arab World* (London), Jan., 1955.
- S. B. SAMADI. The Economic and Social Background of the Reign of al-Mamun. *Islamic Lit.*, Dec., 1954.
- P. J. VATIKIOTIS. Remarks on . . . the Caliphate in al-Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldun. *Ibid.*
- ISMAIL HAKKÎ UZUNÇARŞILI. The Deposition of the Grand Vezir and the Decree of Mahmud II concerning the Wearing of the Fez by the Imperial Forces [in Turkish]. *Belleten*, Oct., 1954.
- Esquisse historique de Port-Said. *Cahiers d'hist. égypt.*, Oct., 1954.
- Iraq, Egypt, and the Arab League. *World Today*, Apr., 1955.
- Unrest in French North Africa. *Ibid.*
- HENRY F. AYRES. Egypt Today. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July, 1954.
- A. J. TIBAWI. British Interests in Palestine. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1955.
- B. Y. BOUTROS GHALI. The Arab League: 1945-1955. *Internat. Conciliation*, May, 1954.
- ZVI KAPLINSKY. The Muslim Brotherhood. *Middle East. Affairs*, Dec., 1954.
- M. PERLMANN. Turkey's Diplomatic Offensive. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- Id.* The Turkish-Arab Diplomatic Tangle. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1955.
- J. S. RALEIGH. Ten Years of the Arab League. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- EMIL LENGYEL. Great Britain's Palestine Mandate Policy in a New Light. *Ibid.*
- ROM LANDAU. Morocco, 1955. *America* (New York), Feb. 26, 1955.
- I. MOUELHY. Les Mouelhy en Egypt. II. Mohammed el-Mouelhy Bey. *Cahiers d'hist. égypt.*, Oct., 1954.
- ROMAIN RAINERO. Il movimento nazionalista e la situazione dell'Algeria dal 1940 ad oggi. *Oriente mod.*, Nov., 1954.
- PIERRE RONDOT. Les structures socio-politiques de la nation libanaise. *Rev. française de sci. polit.*, Jan., 1954.
- ALVIN Z. RUBENSTEIN. The French Empire in Africa. *Current Hist.*, May, 1955.
- WAYNE S. VUCINICH. Russia and the Near and Middle East. *Ibid.*, Feb., 1955.
- RICHARD PIPES. Muslims of Soviet Central Asia: Trends and Prospects. I. *Middle East. Jour.*, Spring, 1955.
- GURĞİS 'AWÂD. The Mu'izzīyah Palace in Baghdad [in Arabic]. *Sumer*, no. 2, 1954.
- K. A. C. CRESSWELL. A Visit to Ukhaider and Kufa with Dr. Naji al-Asil. *Ibid.*
- W. B. HENNING. The Inscription of Firuzabad. *Asia Major*, no. 1, 1954.
- NÂŞİR NAQSHABANDĪ. Additions to the Umayyad and Abbasid Dinar [in Arabic]. *Sumer*, no. 2, 1954.
- Id.* The Khidr Ilyās Treasure [in Arabic]. *Ibid.*

Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

THE SECOND CHINA WAR, 1856-1860. Edited by D. Bonner-Smith and E. W. R. Lumby. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XCV.] (London, the Society, 1954, pp. xxiv, 413, 45s.) Information on the relatively neglected period of the Second China War, 1856-1860, is now provided by the book under review. A collection of documentary material from the Foreign Office correspondence in the Public Record Office, classified as FO 17, volumes 243-328, this new volume makes two contributions. One is the fact that the *Arrow* war seems to have been accelerated by Harry Parkes, British consul at Canton. The lorch *Arrow* was originally a pirate's boat but was subsequently owned by a Cantonese in Hong Kong, with an English master. On October 8, 1856, the *Arrow* was boarded by Chinese naval police and twelve Chinese crewmen were taken as prisoners to a nearby war-junk. Harry Parkes, as consul, urged Sir J. Bowring, plenipotentiary to China, to take strong action, misinterpreted Bowring's instruction to British naval authorities, and dishonestly concealed Commissioner Yeh's letter of apology for one day to let military action develop on a large scale. Parkes took all the responsibility of enlarging the *Arrow* affair without instruction from his home government. Thus the *Arrow* incident led to the entry of the city of Canton and further extended to the treaty revision at Peking. The second contribution in this volume is the reproduction of many Chinese documents, in English translation, which are not available in the *I-wu-shih-mo* (Management of Foreign Affairs from Beginning to End), a reservoir of diplomatic source material. Yeh was accused of not replying, but this volume reveals that all letters from British military and civil authorities had been answered within one or two days. Together with its very considerable merits, this book has some odd characteristics. There is no bibliography listing any special study on the same topic, such as Huang Yen-yü's very informative work in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no reference to sources except a brief mention in the introduction of the eighty-five volumes of Foreign Office records covering the four-year period, and no explanatory notes to background material such as Articles IX and XIII of the supplementary treaty, which Yeh was alleged to have violated.

SSU-YU TENG, *Indiana University*

THE JAPANESE AND SUN YAT-SEN. By Marius B. Jansen, University of Washington. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXVII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 274, \$4.00.) This careful study takes us back to the period when the Chinese revolutionary movement was young, and when Chinese nationalism and Japanese nationalism had not yet come into conflict. At the turn of the century Pan-Asianism was in the air and Japan was the leader in Westernization in order to shake off Western control. It was thus natural and logical for Sun Yat-sen to find in Japan friends to help him in his revolt against the Manchus. The author considers his theme rather more in its Japanese than in its Chinese aspects, giving an effective account of the historical background, character, and role in society of those Japanese groups and individuals who aided Sun. It was among the superpatriotic groups, such as the Black Dragon society, and the political figures with whom these societies had connections that Sun found his support. The book is full of interesting details of the conspiratorial activities, some of them almost "comic opera" in tone, of Sun and his Japanese cohorts,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and of the changing attitudes of the Japanese government toward them. After the fall of the Manchus, Sino-Japanese friction developed. The relationship between Chinese revolutionaries and Japanese nationalists became outmoded and incongruous, and eventually both Sun and his Japanese associates were disappointed in their expectation of each other. This book, based on Japanese and Chinese materials, is a substantial addition to our knowledge of Sun Yat-sen's career, the Chinese revolutionary movement, Japanese politics, and Sino-Japanese relations.

MERIBETH E. CAMERON, *Mount Holyoke College*

ARTICLES

- GEORGE M. BECKMANN. The Oligarchs and the Origins of Constitutional Thought in Japan. *Hogaku Kenkyū*, Sept., 1954.
- JOHN W. BENNETT and IWAO ISHINO. Futomi: A Case Study of the Socio-Economic Adjustments of a Marginal Community in Japan. *Rural Sociol.*, Mar., 1955.
- RALPH BRAIBANTI. The United States and Japan: A New Century Begins. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Summer, 1955.
- THEODORE HSI-EN CHEN. The Liquidation of Private Business in Communist China. *Far Eastern Survey*, June, 1955.
- RICHARD J. COUGHLIN. The Chinese in Bangkok. *Am. Sociol. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- WOLFRAM EBERHARD. Notes on the Population of the Tun-huang Area. *Sinologica*, IV, no. 2, 1955.
- S. ENDŌ. Formation of the Village Cooperative in the Tokugawa Period [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Feb., 1955.
- K. ENOKI. British Orientalism and Orientalists in England. I, II [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*, Mar., Apr., 1955.
- Id.* Les Origines de l'Empire du Japon, dans leurs rapport avec l'histoire générale de l'Extrême-Orient. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 1, 1954.
- S. ETŌ. Emergence of the Gunboat Policy toward China in 1834. II [in Japanese]. *Kokusaihō Gaiikō Zasshi*, Apr., 1955.
- JOHN K. FAIRBANK and others. The Influence of Modern Western Science and Technology on Japan and China. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- M. FUKUSHIMA. On the Character of Peasant Land Ownership in New China [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Bunka*, Nov., 1954.
- EMILE GASPARDONE. Les Victoires d'Annam aux gravures de K'ien-long. *Sinologica*, IV, no. 1, 1954.
- T. GRIMM. Das Neiko der Ming Zeit—von den Anfängen bis 1506. *Oriens Extremus*, Dec., 1954.
- JOHN A. HARRISON (tr.). Kita Yezo Zuzetsu or a Description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCIX, no. 2, 1955.
- T. HAYASHIYA. On the Transition from the Law and Ordinance System (Ancient) to the Feudal System (Medieval) in Japan [in Japanese]. *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, May, 1955.
- Historical Studies in Japan, 1954 [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, May, 1955.
- NOBUTAKA IKE. The Pattern of Railway Development in Japan. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1955.
- T. ITŌ. The Debasement of Currency by the Edo Government in the Genbun Period [in Japanese]. *Shirin*, May, 1955.
- S. KAIZUKA. Recent Trends in Chinese Historical Science [in Japanese]. *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, Jan., 1955.
- FELIX M. KEESING. Problems of Integrating Humanities and Social Science Approaches in Far Eastern Studies. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1955.
- HIDEO KISHIMOTO. Mahayana Buddhism and Japanese Thought. *Philosophy East and West*, Oct., 1954.
- KOH SUNG CHOI. A Historical Study of the Mining Industry in Korea [in Korean]. *Economics* (Korean Economic Association, Seoul), Sept., 1953.
- J. R. LEVENSON. Western Religion and the Decay of Traditional China. *Sinologica*, IV, no. 1, 1954.
- JOHN M. MAKI. The Prime Minister's Office and Executive Power in Japan. *Far Eastern Survey*, May, 1955.
- H. MATSUYAMA. On the Establishment of Medieval Cities in Japan [in Japanese]. *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, Feb., 1955.

- ERNEST R. MAY. The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Far Eastern War, 1941-1945. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- T. MIYAKAWA. Yukichi Fukuzawa's Spirit of Enlightenment [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Memoirs*, Nov., 1954.
- K. NAGAHARA, and T. NAGAKURA. The Development of the System of Murakata Jinushi [land-owners] in the Self-Supporting Agricultural Areas. II [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Feb., 1955.
- K. NUNOMURA. Some Types of Marriage in Ancient Japan [in Japanese]. *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, Apr., 1955.
- N. OBUCHI. The Establishment of Taoism in China. I, II [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*, Jan., Mar., 1955.
- S. OE. The Origin of the Minken [popular rights] Movement by the Wealthy Farmers [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1955.
- Y. OKA. The Sino-Japanese War and Japanese Public Opinion. I, II [in Japanese]. *Kokka Gakkaï Zasshi*, Dec., 1954, Feb., 1955.
- S. OKAZAKI. The Development of Political Authority in Hsia-chou (Tangut) during the Period of the Five Dynasties [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Oct., 1954.
- NORMAN D. PALMER. Organizing for Peace in Asia. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- O. PRITSAK. Die 24 Ta-ch'ên—Studie zur Geschichte des Verwaltungsaufbaus der Hsiung-nu Reiche. *Oriens Extremus*, Dec., 1954.
- RENÉ RISTELHUEBER. Notre conflit avec la Chine au sujet du Tonkin (1884-1885). *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, July-Sept., 1954.
- HENRY ROZOVSKY. An Economic History of Japan: A Review Article. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- T. SAGUCHI. A Study of Islamic Mysticism in China [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Oct., 1954.
- S. SATŌ. On Watanabe Kazan's Manuscript *Gaijō kujijōsho* or the Book of the State of Affairs of the World in 1839 [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Apr., 1955.
- M. SHINOHARA. An Estimate of Capital Formation in Japan by "Commodity Flow" Method. *Ann. Hitotsubashi Acad.*, Apr., 1955.
- H. ARTHUR STEINER. Constitutionalism in Communist China. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- E-TU ZEN SUN. The Pattern of Railway Development in China. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb., 1955.
- H. TAKAGI. On the Formation of Religious Orders [in Japan]: The Case of Tenrikyō [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Memoirs*, Nov., 1954.
- ZITSUZO TAMURA and YUKIO KOBAYASHI. Tombs and Mural Paintings of Ch'ing-ling: Liao Imperial Mausoleums of 11th century A.D. in Eastern Mongolia. *Japan Quar.* (Tokyo), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- KENJI TODA. The Effect of the First Great Impact of Western Culture in Japan. Illustrated by the Study of the Introduction of the Western Form of Pictorial Art. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- GEORGE O. TOTTEN. Problems of Japanese Socialist Leadership. *Pacific Affairs*, June, 1955.
- UEMURA FUKUSHICHI. Analysis of [Japanese] National Railroad Management and Rate Problems [in Japanese]. *Keizai Ronsō* (Kagawa Univ.), May, 1955.
- H. WADA. Tao I Tsa Chih: A New Chinese Source on the History of the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) [in Japanese]. *Ochanomizu Univ. Stud. in Arts and Culture*, Sept., 1954.
- O. WAKITA. The Development of Landlordism [Jinushi] during the Decline of Japanese Feudal Society [in Japanese]. *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, Mar., 1955.
- HEROLD J. WIENS. Riverine and Coastal Junks in China's Commerce. *Ec. Geog.*, July, 1955.
- KENTARO YAMADA. A Study on the Introduction of An-Hsi-Hsiang in China and That of Gum Benzoin in Europe (II). *Report Inst. of World Economics* (Kinki University, Osaka), Dec., 1954.
- M. YAMAMOTO. "Kabu-nakama," corporation des marchands du temps des Tokugawa, son organisation et ses fonctions. *Osaka Ec. Papers*, Mar., 1955.
- C. YANO. On the Aristocracy of the Early T'ang Dynasty [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Oct., 1954.

SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE ECONOMY OF BENGAL FROM 1704 TO 1740. By *Sukumar Bhattacharya*, Professor of History, Asutosh College, and Lecturer, Calcutta University. (London, Luzac, 1954, pp. 240, 21s.) Students of Indian history have hitherto paid extraordinarily little attention to the decades immediately preceding the Anglo-French duel for empire in the mid-eighteenth century. Dr. Bhattacharya, working mainly from the almost daily record of the activities of the East India Company's servants in the Bengal "consultations," has now brought vividly before us the operations of the company in Bengal at a time when local authority, despite the confusion following the death of Aurangzib, was still vigorous. His method, more topical than chronological, makes his dissertation a series of essays on such topics as "Markets and Trade," "Mints and Currency," "Other European Traders." This involves a considerable degree of repetition, but it has the merit of driving home to his readers certain aspects of the company's history in this period which are not sufficiently emphasized in his concluding chapter. The Bengal "consultations" demonstrate clearly: the futility of all formal agreements between the company and Indian authority, central or local, unless supplemented by constant, patient, and supple negotiation; the crucial importance, to both the company and the local authority, of the good will of the Indian capitalist, banker, or broker; and the latent power in the company to strangle economic activity in Bengal by its control of the sea and the rivers of the Ganges delta. Indeed, Dr. Bhattacharya's researches lend support to the view that in these decades the process of European conquest was already imperceptibly under way and was capable of continuing independently of Anglo-French rivalry but not of vigorous Indian central authority, which was perhaps the only force that could have held it at bay. This work would have benefited by not cleaving so closely to one body of materials, the Bengal "consultations." The company's financial records would have been helpful in elucidating the economic data, and there is a good deal of non-British material in print, e.g., Huisman's work on the Ostend Company, which would have afforded more insight into the problems of "other European" traders. Dr. Bhattacharya seems not to be aware of the extent to which Portuguese was still a *lingua franca* for written communication among European traders even as late as this period. It is doubtful whether the Dutch were, in India, as far behind the English in commercial power in 1717 as he supposes (p. 80). There are also difficult problems about prosperity or the lack of it in Bengal at this time. Dr. Bhattacharya sometimes has it both ways; on page 176, "the people had plenty to eat and their wants were few," while on page 211, in speaking of a case where a man was satisfied with ten rupees not to create any trouble over the death of a brother, he refers to "the utter poverty of the people." On balance, there appears to be little doubt that the province was in a more flourishing condition in these decades than has hitherto been realized. The pages here devoted to the various economic activities in the Kasimbazar "island" bear this out. Dr. Bhattacharya's work adds another to the series of significant monographs completed at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN THAILAND SINCE 1850. By *James C. Ingram*. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. viii, 254, \$5.00.) Dr. Ingram's informative book, a product of Cornell's Southeast Asia Program, is based on primary

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

sources available in Thailand. The author describes at the outset Thailand's economy prior to 1850. He then surveys the development of production (especially rice) and foreign trade and analyzes governmental policies relating thereto. The second half of the book describes exchange policy, governmental revenues and expenditures, the growth of an exchange economy, and recent developments. Statistics are relegated to appendixes, followed by a formal bibliography. Because the sources are in many respects inadequate, the author's conclusions are presented tentatively. Unlike rulers of neighboring states, the kings of Thailand beginning with Mongkut (1851) voluntarily came to terms with insistent maritime powers by opening the country to foreign trade and investment. The Bowring-Parkes treaty of 1855-1856, followed by American, French, and other treaties, limited Thailand's import tariff to three per cent coupled with a single export duty and granted foreigners access to the interior under extra-territorial rights with freedom to preach, to do business, and to acquire land for living quarters, warehouses, and churches. Foreign properties were subjected to only a nominal tax. Because of Britain's financial and commercial hegemony in the area, Thailand under the treaties became a kind of semicolonial addendum to the British Empire. British possessions furnished seventy per cent of Thailand's imports and took much of its exports; British banks dominated the field; British firms managed the teak and tin industries and handled much of the rice exports. Britons monopolized the post of financial adviser to the government and from that vantage point promoted an ultra-conservative financial policy favorable to investors and traders but detrimental to internal public works development. London's concessions of taxation and tariff autonomy, accorded in 1903 and 1926 respectively, were both qualified. Criticisms are few. Some repetition occurs. The discussion of the role of Bowring and Parkes in negotiating the 1855-1856 treaties is inadequate. British sources could be more fully utilized. Some comparison between Burma and Thailand would also be instructive, as would a discussion of British-Thai relations since the end of World War II. But the author has done a workman-like job, and historians as well as economists interested in Southeast Asia will long be indebted to Dr. Ingram.

JOHN F. CADY, *Ohio University*

NINETEENTH CENTURY BORNEO: A STUDY IN DIPLOMACY. By *Graham Irwin*, Lecturer in History, University of Malaya. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Landen Volkenkunde, Deel XV.] (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1955, pp. xi, 251.) Most writers on Borneo have concentrated on the internal history of the island; this well-done study is the first systematic presentation of those ambitions and policies of both the British and the Dutch governments between 1809 and 1888 which decided the fate of modern Borneo. By using the records of the British and the Dutch colonial and foreign offices and of the English East India Company, Dr. Irwin has cast new light on Borneo. Four black on white maps of the Dutch and the British divisions give meaning to the narrative, and Appendix A provides a useful guide to nineteenth-century records of the Netherlands Ministry of the Colonies in the Rijksarchief. Upon the reoccupation of the East Indies after the Napoleonic wars, the Dutch ineffectually sought to prevent British colonization south of Singapore by the Treaty of 1824, and by putting up a hollow show of dominion in Borneo. Reluctance to assume additional colonial burdens, rather than the Dutch resistance, determined British policy in Borneo in the mid-century. The imperial government refused to oblige James Brooke either by annexing Sarawak or by recognizing him and his successor, Charles Johnson Brooke, as sovereigns of the state. Brooke's venture—piracy, trade, and coal—rather than a desire to expand territorially, led to the British annexation of Labuan in 1846. After 1870, intense foreign rivalry caused the British govern-

ment to reverse its policy in Borneo: the machinations of Alfred Dent and Baron von Overbeck were rewarded by a charter for the North Borneo Company, and a protectorate embracing North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak was declared in 1888 to bring order to a confused situation. The author is much too critical of the imperial government for its refusal to follow the biddings of the ambitious white rajahs of Sarawak.

EDGAR L. ERICKSON, *University of Illinois*

INDIANS OVERSEAS, 1838-1949. By C. Kondapi, Indian Council of World Affairs. (Madras and London, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. xi, 558.) More appropriately this monograph should be entitled "The Status of Indians Overseas Today," for, with the exception of the first fifty-two pages which review the history of Indian emigration and describe the Indenture, Kangany, and Maistry systems of recruitment, the bulk of the study consists of a well-documented, fact-laden account of the status of Indians in areas outside of India since about 1930. The author has done a thorough job of locating and effectively using the mass of official publications, British and foreign, on the subject. Five chapters are devoted to the disabilities suffered by Indians in each of more than thirty different overseas areas, the most important of which are South Africa, Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, Fiji, and the West Indies. Against the background of ideal United Nations standards of justice and equality the status of overseas Indians is measured; the results are often appalling. At worst the abuses include debt-slavery in Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma; and in varying degrees everywhere are to be found those of low wages, inadequate housing, poor medical and educational facilities, and restrictions on movement, settlement, land ownership, and trade, to mention a few. South Africa is given full treatment as a chief offender as might be expected. A chapter is devoted to the administrative system in India and overseas by which the welfare of Indians is supposed to be safeguarded, and suggested remedies conclude the study. Indian populations and organizations overseas are presented in appendixes. From this book one learns the futility of well-conceived remedial measures unless the will exists among those in control to abide by the law. Hope for the future improvement of the lot of Indians abroad may be found in the nascent trade unions and arbitration machinery. The author fails in his study to give proper consideration to realities: Indians overseas are often better off than they would be in India; economic problems of the planters are ignored; many of the disabilities arise from the Kangany and Maistry systems which are of Indian origin; data for the World War II years are not adequate for long-range conclusions; and, lastly, in no country are social, economic, and political conditions ideal.

EDGAR L. ERICKSON, *University of Illinois*

SOUTHEAST ASIA

- TEODORO A. AGONCILLO. The Filipino Intellectuals and the Revolution. *Philippine Social Sci. and Humanities Rev.*, June, 1953.
- BRIAN CROZIER. The Diem Regime in Southern Vietnam. *Far Eastern Survey*, Apr., 1955.
- Les débats sur l'Indochine à l'Assemblée Nationale. *France-Asie*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- MAURICE DURAND. La complainte de l'épouse du guerrier de Đăng-trần-Côn. *Bull. Soc. études Indochin.*, n.s. XXVIII, 1953.
- BERNARD B. FALL. Indochina since Geneva. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1955.
- Id.* Tribulations of a Party Line, the French Communists and Indo-China. *For. Affairs*, Apr., 1955.
- ALEXANDER B. GRISWOLD. The Real King Mongkut of Siam. *Eastern World*, Mar., Apr., 1955.
- PAUL GRAUWIN. La vérité de Diên-Biên-Phu. *France-Asie*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- GUSTAVE MEILLON. Nguyễn Trãi (1380-1442). *Ibid.*, Oct.-Nov., 1954.
- PHYA SRIVISARN VACHA. Kingship in Siam. *Jour. Siam. Soc.*, July, 1954.

SOUTH ASIA

- CHARLES HENRY ALEXANDROWICZ-ALEXANDER. American Influence in Indian Constitution Making. *Jour. Madras Univ.*, July, Dec., 1952.

- Id.* Chinese Suzerainty over Tibet. *Ibid.*, July, 1952, Jan., 1953.
- M. ARAKIASWAMI. A New Chapter in Rāshtrakūṭa History. *Ibid.*
- M. B. ARIYAPALA. Succession to the Throne in Ancient Ceylon. *Univ. Ceylon Rev.*, Oct., 1954.
- JAGESH C. BAGAL. Women in India's Freedom Movement (II). *Mod. Rev.*, July, 1953.
- N. B. BALOCH. Muhammad-Ibu-Qasim. *Islamic Culture*, Oct., 1953.
- D. N. BANERJEE. Some Aspects of Our Constitution (III). *Mod. Rev.*, Jan., 1955.
- HARRY J. BENDA. The Communist Rebellions of 1926-1927 in Indonesia. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- R. BHASKARAN. Constitutional Amendment in India. *Jour. Madras Univ.*, July, Dec., 1952.
- NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE. Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha vs. War. *Indo-Asian Culture*, Jan., 1953.
- D. MACKENZIE BROWN. Indian and Western Realism. *Indian Jour. Pol. Sci.*, Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- K. C. CHAKRAVARTI. Linguistic Provinces. *Bull. Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan*, Aug., 1954.
- RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY. The Oinwares of Mithila. *Jour. Bihar Research Soc.*, June, 1954.
- Communist Party of India, Malabar Committee. Manifesto of the Malabar Committee of the Communist Party. *New Age*, Nov., 1954.
- BRAJENDRANATH DE. Reminiscences of an Indian Member of the Indian Civil Service (XIII). *Calcutta Rev.*, Dec., 1954.
- S. K. DIKSHIT. The Problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the Origin of the Vikrama Saṁvat. The Origin of the "Kaniska Era." *Ann. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst.*, XXXIV, 1953.
- SATYABRATA GHOSH. Some Theoretical Implications of a Welfare State in India. *Indian Jour. Pol. Sci.*, Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- T. L. GREEN. Education and Social Needs in Ceylon: A Study of Vocational Ratings, Ambitions, and Opportunities. *Univ. Ceylon Rev.*, Oct., 1952.
- N. C. SEN GUPTA. Comparative View of Law in Ancient India. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- WALTHER VON HEISSIG. Ein Monogolischer Zeitgenössischer Bericht über den Ölöteneinfall in Tibet und die Plünderung von Lhasa 1717. *Zeitsch. d. deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.*, n.f. XXIX, 1954.
- SHIV S. KAPUR. Village Democracy in India. *United Asia*, Apr., 1954.
- HUMAYUN KABIR. India and UNESCO. *For. Affairs Reports*, Mar., 1955.
- Id.* Indian Muslims. *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- E. E. MACK. The Secular State of the Indian Union. *Jour. Madras Univ.*, Jan., 1951.
- HALLAM L. MOVIOUS, JR. Palaeolithic Archaeology in Southern and Eastern Asia, Exclusive of India (Part I). *Jour. World Hist.*, II, no. 2, 1954.
- BUDDHA PRAKASH. The Kuṣāṇa Invasion of India under Fumāragupta. *Indian Hist. Quar.*, Sept., 1954.
- V. G. RAMACHANDRAN. Inter-state Relations under the New Constitution. *Jour. Madras Univ.*, July, Dec., 1952.
- V. VENKATA RAO. The First Step in a Welfare State. *Indian Jour. Pol. Sci.*, Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- SURENDRANATH SEN. Syamaprasad Mookerjee: A Reminiscence. *Calcutta Rev.*, Oct., 1954.
- E. B. TISSEVERASINGHE. The Pattern of Occupation in Idealised Ceylon: A Plan for an Effective Planning Commission. *New Lanka*, Jan., 1955.
- UNESCO Seminar on Gandhism in New Delhi. *Indo-Asian Culture*, Apr., 1953.
- MARSHALL WINDMILLER. The Andhra Election. *Far Eastern Survey*, Apr., 1955.

United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE PARKMAN READER: FROM THE WORKS OF FRANCIS PARKMAN. Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. xvii, 533, \$6.00.) The most salient trait of Parkman's work, Barrett Wendell once wrote, "is its unbroken vitality." In one volume Professor Morison has

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

given us a judicious selection and a rich sampling. Also characterized by vitality is the editor's penetrating introduction. Although three biographies of Parkman and a large number of essays and articles about him have been published, Professor Morison's introduction is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the best and most accurate appraisal of Parkman and his works in print. The editor completely dispels the conventional representation of a kind of austere Boston Brahmin who led a lonely, isolated life in his dimly lit Chestnut Street study. The selections from the works include some of the most fascinating Parkman narratives: the saga of Champlain, the martyrdom of Isaac Jogues, the heroic tragedy of La Salle, and the dramatic battle on the Plains of Abraham. These are epic narratives that should arouse the enthusiasm of any reader. In addition are appropriate chapters from the *Old Régime* and other volumes together with the masterly introduction on the North American Indians from the *Jesuits*. A chapter from the *Pontiac* might also have been included; but it is difficult to make selections and to maintain continuity as the editor has done. The fact that the reader is permitted "to follow a story from start to finish" is particularly gratifying. Besides his own sources, Professor Morison's bibliography lists the various editions of Parkman's works and gives figures showing their large sale. He also provides excellent maps and an index; but one of the most enlightening features of the *Reader* is his series of bracketed notes, including corrections of Parkman's statements of fact. In Parkman's writings there is pleasure of recognition. One enters into the thoughts and feelings of historical personages because they are like one's own. Verisimilitude is one of Parkman's most significant achievements. Compared with his writings, most other histories are as interesting as last week's newspaper. He combined literary workmanship, exacting scholarship, imagination, and understanding of human nature in a work of art. He realized, too, that love of a good story is as much a part of the ordinary man as a sense of property. At a time when Parkman's works are out of print we are especially indebted to the editor and to the publishers for an attractive, readable, and authoritative book. It is a fitting tribute to one of America's greatest historians.

WILBUR R. JACOBS, *University of California, Santa Barbara College*

BENEFIT OF CLERGY IN AMERICA AND RELATED MATTERS. By George W. Dalzell. (Winston-Salem, N. C., John F. Blair, 1955, pp. xiv, 299, \$4.50.) This book is much more scholarly than the refreshingly modest author and publisher would have us believe. Although the author says of his subject, "Its unimportance is monumental," he shows how benefit of clergy has left its impress on current legal practice, and he gives the key to the motive which sent him exploring into this forgotten territory in his concluding statement from Sir Edward Coke that "the law is unknown to him that knoweth not the reason thereof, and that the knowne certaintie of the law is the safetie of all." Mr. Dalzell has presented an interesting history of the benefit of clergy both before and after its introduction to America revealing how, long after it had become a fiction, it mitigated the cruelty of the criminal code until by "slow process" the "social growth is translated into law." Mr. Dalzell writes for the "slipped readers," and suffers from the unfortunate delusion that footnotes detract from the interest of such readers. Yet he cites legal cases in the text, includes a few footnotes, and adds a bibliographical note in the appendix. These references are often incomplete, a fault which the author might have avoided had he lived to see the work through the press. For example, the interesting quotation on page 87 (without reference to its source) by an anonymous writer may be found on page 23 of Louis B. Wright, ed., *An Essay upon the Government of the English Colonies . . .* (San Marino, Calif., 1945). This work is listed in the bibliography without the name of the editor and the place and date of publication. This well-written book may be read with profit by lawyers

and historians, as well as by "slipped readers." The index is good and the format attractive.

RICHARD L. MORTON, *College of William and Mary*

WILLIAM BLOUNT. By *William H. Masterson*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 378, \$6.00.) A fellow delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787 described William Blount as "a character strongly marked for integrity and honor . . . plain, honest, and sincere." This is not, however, the William Blount that emerges as a result of Dr. Masterson's careful search for an examination of widely scattered personal and business letters and other records. The Blount of this volume was a businessman who speculated extensively, especially in western lands. He was also a politician who held several offices under North Carolina, was governor of the Southwest Territory, and represented Tennessee in the United States Senate. He viewed every public office that he held as a means of advancing his own interests above all others. Dominated by an insatiable ambition for wealth and power and prestige, he was energetic, resourceful, often devious, and at times completely unscrupulous in his pursuit of these objectives. For a while he was successful, but in 1800, the year of his death at the age of fifty, he was a failure both in business and in politics. The collapse of land prices had brought him close to bankruptcy; and the discovery of his "conspiracy" to raise land prices by bringing about the transfer by force of the lower Mississippi and other areas from Spain to Great Britain, had resulted in his expulsion from the Senate. Dr. Masterson's biography is much more than a chronicle of the outward events of Blount's life: written with a combination of literary skill and imagination, it is a major contribution to an understanding not only of William Blount, an "intensely human" man but also of those areas of time and space in which he operated.

PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE FEDERALISM OF JAMES A. BAYARD. By *Morton Borden*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 584.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 256, \$4.00.) Though excellent in many ways this compact life of Bayard is the victim of a system that stimulates publication of a doctoral dissertation before the author has been able to realize the full possibilities of his subject. A study of Bayard has been needed not only to clear up the confusions about him that the author mentions but also to illuminate the activities of the Federalists during the prolonged decay of the party's influence. As a leading Federalist during the decade and a half of gradual atrophy of the party, Bayard deserves something more than a "congressional career." Within the limits of space—and probably of time—the author could hardly have explored many questions, say of local politics in Delaware or of intraparty affairs, that would have been of keen interest to students of the period and would have more fully explained Bayard and the quality of his Federalism. It is the "nature of Bayard's Federalism" that Mr. Borden poses as his chief problem and his answer is the principal contribution of his book. He finds Bayard faithful throughout his life to "certain ideas and emotions which are generally associated with Federalism" but all the while inclined to steer an independent course, following neither leader nor faction. The key to Bayard's Federalism is, in the author's opinion, a certain temperateness and moderation that frequently brought him into disagreement with other leading men of his party. This judgment—and it seems a fair one—is based on an analysis of Bayard's political behavior between the XYZ crisis and the peace mission to Ghent rather than on the partisan speeches he made in Congress during those years. If anything, extensive quotation from these speeches tends to show Bayard more of an extremist than his record of votes and decisions discloses. Although Bayard never rose to the highest seats of power, he was a personage, an influential adviser to men at the top of the heap. And

occasionally, as in the election of 1800, he himself became a center of interest. Few will deny that chief executives and party chieftains are frequently very much dependent on their advisers. When this is true, the secondary figures become objects of interest, and full understanding of the actions of the great depends on a knowledge of men about them. For this reason Borden's study of Bayard is a welcome addition to the literature of the early national period.

AUBREY C. LAND, *Vanderbilt University*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND THE HUMANITARIAN REFORMERS. By *Russel B. Nye*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. vii, 215, \$3.00.) For over a half century after the Civil War, contemporaries and historians aggrandized Garrison as the hero of the antislavery crusade. Then, in the 1930's, when revisionists exploited the Birney and Weld-Grimke manuscripts, the pendulum moved to the other extreme and Garrison became the incubus of abolitionism. Now Professor Nye has adopted a middle-of-the-road interpretation. "It is only fair to grant Garrison pre-eminence in the first decade of abolition agitation," he has concluded. "He personified its aggressive phase, publicized it for better or worse, and drove its issues deep into the national conscience. But he did not begin abolitionism, nor did he organize it. . . . Abolition passed through him, not from him." The author has skillfully projected Garrison's life against a backdrop of the social and political currents of his era, and he has done a remarkable job of condensing a long and complex career. The preponderant emphasis is upon abolitionism, but occasional tangents reveal the Boston editor's involvement in other humanitarian causes. The narrative is interesting and well written, and Nye's book is clearly the best of the half-dozen biographies of Garrison now extant. The appraisal of Garrisonian abolitionism, however, has weaknesses. The impact of British influence in shaping Garrison's views is overemphasized, while the achievements of the New England Anti-Slavery Society have been slighted. The extent of Garrison's following has not been analyzed, the account of the abolitionist schism of 1839-1840 is inadequate, and Garrison's role in undermining the American Colonization Society is undervalued. Moreover, the account of the Civil War years disregards Garrison's prolonged and bitter criticism of Lincoln's rejection of military emancipation. This biography is presented, in accordance with the plan of the series, without footnotes and with only a brief note on the sources utilized. The author consulted most of the printed sources on the era of humanitarianism, but he apparently has not exploited the major manuscript collections. Professor Nye, like preceding biographers of Garrison, has been content to quarry his raw materials from the monumental four-volume biography written by Garrison's sons. This data, however, has been used with critical judgment. Nevertheless, a first-hand examination of manuscript sources is indispensable for a definitive re-evaluation of William Lloyd Garrison.

ROMAN J. ZORN, *University of Wisconsin*

DANIEL WEBSTER AND THE RISE OF NATIONAL CONSERVATISM. By *Richard N. Current*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. xiii, 215, \$3.00.) Since his death a little over a century ago, Daniel Webster has completed the cycle from demigod to symbol to legend. Yet through all the changing fashions in historical interpretation, Webster has somehow managed to stand firm, about where his own contemporaries placed him. Mr. Current leaves him there but contrives to give him consistency and permanence as a political thinker. Current's emphasis is strongly on social and economic theory. Webster was always the advocate, always the lawyer arguing for his clients in court or for his constituents in Congress or for his country in the more delicate realm of international negotiation. His position changed as the interests of his constituents changed, but, whichever side he argued, there remained always a fundamental unity. Webster believed in the sanc-

tity of contracts, political as well as legal. He believed in private property, in the right of the individual to amass wealth, and in the right of wealth and property to govern. He believed that what was good for the Bank of the United States, or for the New England textile manufacturers, was good for the country. Webster was also a man who knew how to enjoy life. He made money—a great deal of it by the standards of his day—but he did not use it to gain power over others. He used it, and could always have used more, in living. Inevitably, in so short a book, biographical detail is summarized and many important factors—specifically, the complex political controversies of the time—are generalized or glossed over. Yet on the whole, Mr. Current has done an able job which maintains the high standards set for the series of which his book is a part.

CHARLES M. WILTSE, *Washington, D. C.*

PRISCILLA COOPER TYLER AND THE AMERICAN SCENE, 1816-1889. By *Elizabeth Tyler Coleman*. (University, University of Alabama Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 203, \$4.50.) The biography of Priscilla Cooper Tyler is the record of a Victorian belle who concealed firmness and fortitude beneath a charmingly delicate exterior. It seems incredible that any mortal could embody so many virtues while remaining free of negative qualities. This is the composite portrait, however, to be gleaned from the materials at hand: Priscilla's own deliberately cheerful letters, the admiring comments of her family and friends, and newspaper reports of her theatrical and social accomplishments. Yet the real Priscilla must have been a woman of unusual qualities. Emerging from a sheltered home to help her actor-father save the family from destitution, she achieved moderate success on the stage even in the depression-ridden thirties and against the competition of Charles and Fanny Kemble. So decorously did she conduct herself that later she could be welcomed as daughter-in-law to John Tyler, and, when he succeeded to the presidency, accepted as mistress of the White House. Here she played a brilliant role. If the President's social success was as great as his political failure, he could probably thank Priscilla for much of the former. It is to be regretted that, moving amidst the country's policy makers for three years, Priscilla recorded no observations on the political scene. Her biographer believes that such comments might have been astute "had not prudence sealed her lips." Most interesting historically, perhaps, are the final chapters, which recount a family's struggle for survival against the grim realities of Reconstruction in Alabama. While Priscilla maintained family integrity in the face of poverty, her husband strove to wrench control of the state from the Radicals. The narrative becomes tenuous at times, since only a hundred-odd letters and three journals remain of the family's records. The background scene, lightly sketched, shifts back and forth between New York City, Montgomery, Bristol (Pennsylvania), and plantations in Virginia and Alabama. The author's treatment is frankly, yet not obtrusively, sympathetic.

MARY DEARING, *Washington, D. C.*

THE WEB OF VICTORY: GRANT AT VICKSBURG. By *Earl Schenck Miers*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. xvi, 320, xii, \$5.00.) Mr. Miers' account of Grant at Vicksburg is one of the most dramatic presentations of a Civil War campaign this reviewer has ever read. By means of a tightly constructed and colorfully written narrative, the author presents an absorbing study of a soldier enmeshed in the events which were to skyrocket him to fame. For several months, the campaign remained an object lesson in frustration. While being spied upon by his own War Department, maligned in the nation's press, and embarrassed by a curious situation which allowed a third-rate political general to vie with him for command, Grant made four abortive attempts to gain his elusive prize. Then, fearing a stalemate, he decided to gamble. In spite of Sherman's expressed opposition, Grant ferried his army across the river south of

Vicksburg and, with only five days' rations on hand, deliberately cut his supply and communication lines and invaded the very heart of the enemy's country. In twenty incredible days, he fought five furious battles, drove a wedge in between the detached wings of the Confederate Army, and forced Pemberton to fall back into the city's fortifications. Then, for forty-seven consecutive days, the Federals relentlessly pounded the enemy bastion, whose defenders stubbornly tightened their belts while waiting hopelessly for reinforcements which would never come. On July 4, 1863, Vicksburg surrendered. Grant's most brilliant campaign was over. A unique feature of Mr. Miers approach is that he, unlike the numerous Grant scholars currently functioning, does not attempt to Lincolnize his subject. He accepts Grant on the general's own terms, finding the real Grant not only more impressive but also more genuinely human than some imaginary, superhuman, virtue-ridden resurrection. As a consequence, the reader encounters a Grant who possesses an unbecoming streak of anti-Semitism and who indiscreetly goes off on a rip-roaring binge when the pressures need relieving. But more important, one also gazes at the portrait of a man in crisis, resolutely tempting the Fates while grimly setting about the decidedly grim business of waging war.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, *University of Texas*

LABOR, FREE AND SLAVE: WORKINGMEN AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Bernard Mandel*. (New York, Associated Authors, 1955, pp. 256, \$3.00.) Dr. Mandel has prepared an admirable, in some ways a distinguished, pilot study in a field which merits more detailed consideration than it has recently received. He has reviewed the status and relationships of labor, both Negro and white, free and slave, during the period of the antislavery crusade and Civil War, and added a brief chapter on the postwar situation. Although partisan to the cause of the Negro and the wage-earner, he has spared no efforts to present his findings with objectivity. The problem has been to determine just what conclusions the evidence permits; and here there are numerous points which his researches have not entirely resolved. Thus, he notes incidents which would seem to indicate that southern white workers were not satisfied with the competition which slave labor forced upon them. But whether, as a class, they had in them more seeds of human regard for Negroes than did the plantation owners themselves—or whether they had less—would require a more exhaustive examination of new and old evidence than Dr. Mandel has been able at this time to present. He observes that apathy toward the war on the part of southern laborers “was a significant factor in the defeat of the South” (p. 193). Yet, it conducted a long and destructive war, during which, for considerable periods, its fortunes varied little more than did those of its economically and otherwise more powerful foe. Whether, too, Negro and white southern workers were indeed co-operating, during Reconstruction, as fully as is here suggested, in placing the South “on the high road to democratic progress—until they were betrayed by the Republican party” (p. 208), will need to be more fully demonstrated than it has been in the present volume. Similar challenges to research and analysis may be found in Dr. Mandel's examinations of northern workers: their relationships to anti-slavery and abolition, to free soil and the Republican party. His energetic and resourceful studies, and his sharp concern for essentials, make his book a valuable contribution to a significant theme.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Samuel R. Spencer, Jr.* [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. xii, 212, \$3.00.) Professor Spencer's book is a thoroughly readable essay on the life and times of the celebrated sage of Tuskegee. It could have profited

by deeper and broader research, and it is perhaps too insistently eulogistic, but it is the best portrait so far, if not of the real Washington, at least of the image that most of us have come to know. Spencer frankly takes his subject's side, and to make him appear the greater man sometimes whittles down such men as Monroe Trotter and W. E. B. DuBois; but it is an important work and should prove immensely useful. What we need now is a vigorous statement of the other side—a biography critical both of Washington's philosophy of vocational education and of his "Atlanta Compromise" and the strategy of accommodation and conciliation as against the militant program of the "Niagara Movement" and the NAACP's doctrine of challenge—a book, in short, that takes the view that Washington was the white man's man and not the Negro's. It has been said that the American nation compels the Negro to be its bootblack and then proves his inferiority from the fact that he is a bootblack. The logic of Booker Washington's career derives from his realization of that truth, for he devoted his life to teaching the Negro that he (in the language of the volume's dust jacket) "had to prove himself gradually, to demonstrate tangibly and concretely that he was worthy of the blessings of liberty." To those of us who still take seriously the basic articles of the democratic creed such language is heresy. If all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights, it can never be necessary for any man to earn his liberty or to prove his fitness to receive it. Booker Washington believed that. But he did not preach it, precisely because the white man preached it but did not believe it. And it is difficult to gainsay Professor Spencer's conclusion: "to criticize [Washington's] methods is to make the facile assumption that he had some choice in the matter. He did what was possible, given the time and place in which he lived, and did it to the utmost."

RICHARD BARDOLPH, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. [The James W. Richard Lectures in History, University of Virginia, 1954.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 155, \$2.50.) Rigid segregation in custom and law has pervaded the South only since the beginning of this century. Even after the end of Reconstruction American and foreign travelers observed that Negroes were not segregated in some public places. The only type of Jim Crow law adopted by the majority of southern states prior to 1900 applied to passengers aboard trains. The "capitulation to racism" after 1900, which extended in isolated cases to telephone booths, textbooks even in storage, elevators, and Bibles in courtrooms, leads Professor Woodward to assert that "the extremes to which caste penalties and separation were carried in parts of the South could hardly find a counterpart short of the latitudes of India and South Africa" (p. 86). In this "New Redemption" it was the southern Conservatives, alarmed by the union of Negroes and whites during the Populist movement, who spearheaded this American counterpart of *apartheid*. Many former southern Populists and Progressives, like Tom Watson and Hoke Smith, climbed on the bandwagon. Most northern Liberals accepted the capitulation to Jim Crow. Booker T. Washington seems "unwittingly to have smoothed the path to proscription" (p. 64). The "New Reconstruction" that has produced encouraging cracks in the Jim Crow wall is understandable in part because of the relative recency of many of the segregation laws. Additional breakdowns of the barriers may be easier for the same reason. But the collapse of the legal foundations on which the barriers rest would not, necessarily, end Jim Crow's career in the South any more than it has in the North. These lectures are particularly timely in view of the Supreme Court's decisions of May 17, 1954, and of May 31, 1955, decreeing an end to segregation in public schools. The latter decision, announced shortly after the publication of the book, seems to have been inspired by a similarly realistic

understanding of the progress toward desegregation and of the strong opposition to it in some parts of the South.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, *Howard University*

EVENTFUL YEARS AND EXPERIENCES: STUDIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY. By *Bertram Wallace Korn*. [Publications of the American Jewish Archives, No. 1.] (Cincinnati, American Jewish Archives, 1954, pp. xi, 249, \$4.00.) Dr. Bertram Korn earned for himself, with his *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), a well-deserved reputation as a meticulous and careful scholar in the field of American Jewish history. The same standards of highly responsible and painstaking scholarship are evidenced in this collection of studies devoted to small but interesting details in nineteenth-century American Jewish history. The present volume consists of eight essays on Jewish life in the United States during the nineteenth century. Seven of them had been published previously in scholarly journals, but all have been revised for inclusion in this volume. The essay on "Judah P. Benjamin as a Jew" is a masterly example of the way to demolish legend by careful research. Korn demonstrates conclusively that the various stories current regarding alleged active Jewish interest on the part of Judah Benjamin are either fabrications or distortions and that Benjamin displayed all through his life a total indifference to his ancestral faith. The essay on "The Know-Nothing Movement and the Jews" shows that there is little evidence of actual anti-Semitism in the Know-Nothing movement but that the great majority of Jewish public figures were opposed to its intolerance. In his study of "Jewish Forty-eighters in America" Korn reduces the often exaggerated claims both as to numbers and influence of the Jewish Forty-eighters to more realistic dimensions. One is surprised, however, that the author did not make use of the very valuable studies by Rudolf Glantz published in *Jewish Social Studies* (Vols. IV and VII) and in the *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science* (Vol. VI). Leo Goldhammer's article on Jewish emigration from Austria-Hungary in 1848-1849 (*Yivo Annual*, Vol. IX) had not yet appeared but is an important supplement to this literature. In addition to the essays mentioned, Korn's volume also contains studies on "American Jewish Life in 1849," "Isaac Mayer Wise on the Civil War," "Maimonides College, 1867-1873," the first Jewish theological seminary in the United States, and "Jewish Welfare Activities for the Military during the Spanish-American War." "The First Jewish Prayer in Congress" is an account of an interesting coincidence in American political and religious history. On February 1, 1860, the deadlock in the election for the speakership of the House of Representatives was finally broken with the naming of William Pennington of New Jersey as the first Republican Speaker of the House. On that day too Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of Congregation Bnai Jeshurun of New York became the first representative of the Jewish faith to pronounce the opening prayer for a session of Congress, thus marking a milestone in the development of religious equality in the United States.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College*

THE BILTMORE STORY: RECOLLECTIONS OF THE BEGINNING OF FORESTRY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Carl Alwin Schenck*. Edited by *Ovid Butler*. (St. Paul, American Forest History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1955, pp. xv, 224, \$3.95.) In the closing decades of the nineteenth century it was quite fashionable for well-bred young men to become foresters. It was fashionable also for wealthy individuals to purchase timbered or once timbered areas and erect baronial estates upon them. In the first category belonged Gifford Pinchot and Dr. Carl Alwin Schenck, a young German forester who arrived in the United States in 1895 to enter the employment of George W. Vanderbilt, who was then in the process of developing his famous Biltmore Estate near Asheville, North Carolina. Vanderbilt hoped that through judicious farming of the arable acres and "scientific" management of the

wooded acres his estate would become self-supporting. Biltmore never achieved this goal, but in the process something more enduring was achieved when Schenck opened the first American forestry school, a seat of learning that existed from 1898 to 1913. The story of the early forestry movement is a story of young men with dreams and ambitions: men not educated for the task at hand, but men who tried to apply the precepts of their European forestry training to the American scene. While managing the Biltmore forests, Schenck served under Pinchot, who had received silvicultural training in France, and later became Biltmore's chief forester. At first the two men were friends, but later they broke over differences regarding the nation's forestry policy. Schenck emerged as a champion of scientific forestry on privately owned woodlands, while Pinchot became a scourge of the "lumber barons." The story of the development of the American forestry movement is not yet complete. Pinchot's *Breaking New Ground* appeared in 1947 and Andrew D. Rodger's biography of Bernhard E. Fernow was published in 1951. Now, Carl A. Schenck broadens the horizon. When compared with Pinchot's valedictory, the difference between the two accounts is striking. Dr. Schenck no longer jousts with windmills; instead he writes in a spirit of humility. Ably edited, attractively printed and equipped with an index that works, *The Biltmore Story* earns a special place on the bookshelves of those who are interested in American forestry. Yet this volume is not the best memorial to the late Carl Alwin Schenck. That memorial was achieved years ago when young Americans studied forestry at Biltmore.

WILLIAM G. RECTOR, *Wisconsin State College, Superior*

A PASSION FOR POLITICS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LOUIS BROWNLOW, FIRST HALF. By *Louis Brownlow*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. xii, 606, \$7.50.) The "first half" of Louis Brownlow's autobiography examines his career from a delightfully recorded boyhood in a small village in the Ozarks through his life as a reporter and editor on several Tennessee and Kentucky newspapers, as a world traveler and Washington correspondent, to his appointment in 1915 as a commissioner of the District of Columbia. The narrative ends with the author at the outset of a distinguished career as a public administrator, the historically significant portion of his life. However, this volume has substantial merits of its own. The first part of the autobiography is excellent social history. Life in Buffalo, Missouri, is carefully examined from every angle with the balance tipped very slightly on the political side. Though experiencing the poverty and depression so characteristic of the middle border in the last years of the nineteenth century, Brownlow does not stress it and clearly shows that despite these handicaps life had its optimistic, healthier side. None of the grim realism of Ed Howe and the early Hamlin Garland protrudes in the author's portrait. Louis Brownlow left the Missouri Ozarks for a journalistic career in 1898, and with the remainder of the volume the pace increases. After a brief examination of Nashville at the turn of the century, the author plunges into an account of his newspaper activities and thereafter relies heavily on personality sketches, anecdotes, political events, and articles he wrote while a foreign correspondent to round out his story. The historian can find material here—chiefly anecdotal—pertaining to such diverse topics and personalities as Tennessee politics, Henry Watterson, the 1904 campaign, and Woodrow Wilson, to cite but a few. The autobiography amply illustrates that Brownlow was an outstanding journalist, one who could spin some wonderful yarns. The "first half" leaves the reader looking forward with anticipation to the concluding volume.

RICHARD LOWITT, *Connecticut College*

AMERICAN MILITARY POLICY: ITS DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1775. By *C. Joseph Bernardo*, Major Ordnance Corps, and *Eugene H. Bacon*. (Harrisburg, Pa., Military

Service Publishing Company, 1955, pp. 512, \$5.00.) Fifty years ago, when Emory Upton's book, *The Military Policy of the United States*, was published, Elihu Root noted that it "was written from a purely military point of view, and in some parts shows a failure to appreciate difficulties arising from our form of government and the habits and opinions of our people." The present book, while more readable than Upton's and concerned primarily with politics rather than battles, is subject to similar comment. Failure to emphasize that a democratic nation will have the kind of military establishment that its people want has produced a work better for criticism than for explanation and constructive analysis. The authors, however, have provided a good factual summary of military legislation from the Revolution to the New Look; and their useful citations will aid students who wish to delve deeper into policy formulation and the role of military affairs in our national life. While the term "military policy" is nowhere defined, the wartime consequences of faulty policy are primarily expressed in terms of numbers of men and weapons employed. Such treatment necessarily limits the analysis. Universal military training is discussed without reference to our need for specialists in a technical age. Massive retaliation is discussed without reference to its compatibility with our NATO commitments. And, in the development of the unification controversy, scant mention is made of the basic issue of roles and missions, and jurisdiction over new weapons. The concern with numbers, in short, obscures the more fundamental problem of how military policy is related to technological developments, national objectives, foreign policy, global strategy, and civil-military relations. It is worth noting, however, that this is the first attempt in seventy-five years to write the history of American military policy, and credit is due the authors for plunging into a field of history in which so much basic research still needs to be done.

GORDON B. TURNER, *Princeton University*

U. S. MILITARY DOCTRINE: A STUDY AND APPRAISAL. By *Dale O. Smith*, Brigadier General, USAF. Foreword by General *Carl Spaatz*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, pp. xiii, 256, \$3.50.) According to General Smith, the national security of the United States today depends on its capacity to undertake massive retaliation against military attack by air bombardment. "The sinews of war in a modern state," he contends, "are really contained in a few hundred square miles of industrial area. Air power can take out this area quickly and totally deprive that state of the means to wage war." Our air power cannot do this until it "takes out" the bases of enemy air power. But, "once we have achieved air dominance, the enemy has no recourse but to surrender. It should not be necessary to wipe out all his cities to convince him of this." The successful use of air power in massive retaliation depends on general public acceptance of four basic military doctrines as national military policies: maintenance of a professional force adequate and ready for the occasion, unity of command, "celerity with the counteroffensive," and what the author calls "technical application," that is, the unrestricted development, and employment when necessary, of the most effective bombs. Success depends also on concentrating the nation's military means on offensive air power, instead of on obsolescent or comparatively futile weapons such as ground armies and air defense forces. The author prefaces his analysis with an assurance that "what follows represents purely my own views." This plea for air power might have been much more effective if the author had not tried to give it a historical gloss. His sketchy summary of American military experience, based upon secondary works, contains errors, omissions, inconsistencies, and many arguable assumptions and interpretations. In particular, this reviewer finds historically unimpressive the author's effort to show how unnecessary large ground armies are today, by casting doubt on the wisdom of employing them in all wars from the American Revolution through

the Korean conflict. History of this sort will not convince historians that the author's main thesis is sound.

STETSON CONN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE ORGANIZATION AND ROLE OF THE ARMY SERVICE FORCES. By *John D. Millett*. [United States Army in World War II: The Army Service Forces.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1954, pp. xx, 494, \$4.25.) As the author has stated in his preface, this is a history of a controversial administrative experiment. It is also largely a study of a man, General Brehon B. Somervell, himself a controversial figure. The exigencies of war brought about the conception of the Army Service Forces and its birth followed approximately a month later—truly a remarkably short period of gestation for such a radically different organization. Established by War Department Circular 59 of March 9, 1942, its primary function was that of procurement and supply for the army air and ground forces. The new organization was to have command functions and while the procurement and supply function was the *raison d'être* it became immediately a dumping ground for practically everything that could not be assigned to the air or ground force. Because of these many functions the title "Army Service Forces" given to the new command was a proper and apt name. While General Somervell was careful to confine operations to his mission as defined in Circular 59, there remained, of course, a certainty that many problems would arise in which responsibility was not clearly defined. This resulted in some expansion of the activities of the Army Service Forces as the war progressed and led to many disputes. General Somervell's impatience at delays as well as his broad view of the procurement and supply program led to the frequent accusation of "empire building." This accusation has been quite well refuted by the author. One conflict was not resolved during the entire war. The Operations Planning Division (OPD) was primarily concerned with strategy. Frequent quarrels developed with ASF, which was accused of concerning itself with strategy as well as logistics. A clear-cut line between the two was probably impossible because of the world-wide battle front, the long supply lines, and the overlapping area aspect of the movement of troops and supplies as dictated by strategical considerations. But not all of the trouble was caused by such practical considerations, and the author does not overlook the influence of personal resentments and animosities in many of these conflicts. In fact he rather boldly implies that the latter had much to do with the sudden demise of the ASF on June 11, 1946. Perhaps the sharpest criticism of the ASF outside the War Department itself came from the Truman committee in the Senate in connection with the Canol project, a costly attempt to exploit oil fields in the Canadian Northwest, including refinery and pipe-line construction in the area, and Alaska. This volume of the "United States Army in World War II" histories is a definite contribution to the experience record to which all concerned with the military defense of this country should turn. True, it is a history of an experiment completely dominated by the personality of one man, the late General Brehon B. Somervell.

LLOYD ELLIS DEWEY, *New York University*

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume VI, MEN AND PLANES. Prepared under the Editorship of *Wesley Frank Craven*, Princeton University, and *James Lea Cate*, University of Chicago, by the USAF Historical Division. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. lii, 808, \$8.50.) Earlier volumes told in detail the part played by air power in combat in World War II. This sixth volume concerns itself with a story basic to the combat story. In an opening section entitled "The Organization and Its Responsibilities," Dr. William A. Goss, Mr. P. Alan Bliss, and Dr. Frank Futrell trace the struggle for recognition of the special mission of air power and the creation of the Army Air Forces as an autonomous command with representation in

the highest strategy planning boards: the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Chiefs of Staff. They describe the field organization for the defense of the continental United States and the struggle to build an adequate air base structure for the defense and training missions of the AAF on the home front. In "Equipment and Services" Dr. Alfred Goldberg tells of the procurement of aircraft, weapons, and supplies. It is a story of the determination of quotas, the mobilization and direction of production sources, the frantic search for better weapons which could be produced in time to affect the struggle, and the development of an organization to distribute weapons to the theaters when and where they were most needed. The bare statistical story of the manufacture of almost 300,000 military aircraft, with engines, propellers, and spare parts in a total airframe weight of 2,859,098,000 pounds at a cost of almost forty-five billion dollars in a five-year period is an indication of the staggering production record of this nation at war. In a final section, "Recruitment and Training," Drs. Arthur R. Kooker and Thomas H. Greer trace the evolution of programs for bringing into the air arm the men needed to operate this war machine and the complex story of their training and utilization. It is the story of the expansion of the air arm from only 20,196 officers and men in 1938 to a maximum strength of 2,372,292. In 1938 the air arm represented only eleven per cent of the strength of the army. Six years later, it accounted for thirty-one per cent of the huge army recruited to fight World War II. Between July 1, 1939, and August 31, 1945, 193,440 pilots were trained, with corresponding numbers of navigators, bombardiers, and ground crews. All in all, the story is one of mobilization of a nation's whole resources to meet the gravest crisis of war. This volume, like the earlier ones, is edited with great competence. It is, in many respects, the best of the series to date. It suffers, like the others, from the necessity for compromise between a popular history and a technical account. Each of the three subdivisions might well have constituted a volume by itself. For the benefit of the reader, the content is summarized, as are earlier volumes, in an excellent foreword.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN, *United States Air Force Academy*

THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Frank Tannenbaum*.

(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 178, \$3.50.) In this book the author makes free use of history to combat the "dreadful doctrine" of power politics and the balance of power advocated by Hans Morgenthau and George F. Kennan, to urge that the American people adhere to their traditional foreign policy, and to prove that the core of this traditional policy has been the idea of "the co-ordinate state," that is, the equality of states. Aside from agreeing that a corrective to Kennan and still more to Morgenthau is needed, the reviewer found himself on the opposition bench through most of this historical polemic. The author's exposition of his basic idea raises more questions than it answers. As examples of "the co-ordinate State" he offers an aggregation of incommensurable terms, to wit, the Swiss Federation, the British Commonwealth, the Organization of American States, and the United States, whose "forty-eight 'indestructible,' 'sovereign' states" he describes as forming "the oldest international society (except Switzerland) in existence" (p. 38). Moreover, there is no discussion of the fact, attested by experience, that the principle of the equality of states can hinder as well as help international co-operation. This principle is represented as "the child of the fact that, in the United States, Rhode Island and Texas are equal" (p. 28), and no reference is made to the fact that the principle originated in Europe, is a century older than the United States, and was clearly set forth in works by Pufendorf, Burlamaqui, and Vattel which were well known to our founding fathers. In support of his thesis that the idea of the co-ordinate state is "the idea that has chiefly influenced American relations with other states" (p. 6), the author offers historical evidence

which, while extensive, suffers from excessive reliance on policy statements as guides to policy and from a one-sided selection of policy statements. Some of the omissions are striking. For example, this historical account of the American tradition in foreign policy contains no reference to Washington's Farewell Address and no discussion of the idea advanced in the address that American foreign policy should be based upon "our interests, guided by justice," a phrase which seems much closer to the heart of the American tradition than does "the co-ordinate state." Although the fact is not mentioned in it, this book is made up partly of periodical articles published as far back as 1951, and two of these called forth a vigorous reply from Hans Morgenthau in 1952. It is to be regretted that no rebuttal of his criticisms was attempted in this volume. Likewise, the author does not mention some trenchant attacks other writers have made on Morgenthau and Kennan, any more than he does Dexter Perkins' *The American Approach to Foreign Policy* (1952), which contains a temperate and admirably informed appraisal of the principal problems to which the book under review is addressed.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, *University of Pennsylvania*

ARTICLES

- WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB. The Historical Seminar: Its Outer Shell and Its Inner Spirit. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- RALPH ADAMS BROWN. The Importance of Local History in the School Program. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- MARVIN WACHMAN. Colgate's Course in the American Idea. *Jour. Higher Educ.*, May, 1955.
- RICHARD M. HUBER. A Theory of American Studies. *Social Educ.*, Oct., 1954.
- STANLEY ELKINS and ERIC MCKITTRICK. A Meaning for Turner's Frontier. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Sept., Dec., 1954.
- JOSEPH DOREFMAN. The Role of the German Historical School in American Economic Thought. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- OSCAR HANDLIN. Capitalism, Power, and the Historians: An Essay Review [Hayek, Hacker, Nevins]. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- T. HARRY WILLIAMS. Freeman, Historian of the Civil War: An Appraisal. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb., 1955.
- T. J. OLESON. The Vikings in America: A Critical Bibliography. *Canadian Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- DERYCK SVÉN. Indianer och vita vid Delaware under 1600-talet. *Finsk Tids.*, Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Elizabethan Politics and Colonial Enterprise. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- The American Jew: 1684-1954 [bibliography]. *Lib. Jour.*, June 1, 1955.
- DIETER KUNZ. Einwanderung und Einordnung der Deutschamerikaner. *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb., 1955.
- RICHARD M. GUMMERE. The Heritage of the Classics in Colonial North America: An Essay on the Greco-Roman Tradition. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCIX, no. 2, 1955.
- BEVERLY MCANEAR. College Founding in the American Colonies, 1745-1775. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- W. J. ECCLES. Frontenac and the Iroquois, 1672-1682. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1955.
- DONALD H. KENT. The French Advance into the Ohio Country. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Fall-Winter, 1954-55.
- JOHN P. COWAN. George Washington at Fort Necessity. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR. Old Men Remember [Daniel Morgan, 1736-1802]. *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring, 1955.
- OLIVE ANDERSON. The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Britain during the American War of Independence. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1955.
- WILLIAM ANDERSON. The Intention of the Framers: A Note on Constitutional Interpretation. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- WILLIAM H. RIKER. The Senate and American Federalism. *Ibid.*
- HARRY MACNEILL BLAND and VIRGINIA W. NORTHCOTT. Life Portraits of Alexander Hamilton. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr., 1955.

- BROADUS MITCHELL. Hamilton's Quarrel with Washington, 1781. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH CHARLES. Hamilton and Washington: The Origins of the American Party System. *Ibid.*
- DOUGLASS ADAIR and MARVIN HARVEY. Was Alexander Hamilton a Christian Statesman? *Ibid.*
- A Note on Certain of Hamilton's Pseudonyms. *Ibid.*
- What Was Hamilton's "Favorite Song"? *Ibid.*
- ERNEST R. MAY. The Development of Political-Military Consultation in the United States. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1955.
- NORMAN W. CALDWELL. The Frontier Army Officer, 1794-1814. *Mid-America*, Apr., 1955.
- HAROLD L. NELSON. Military Roads for War and Peace, 1797-1836. *Military Affairs*, Spring, 1955.
- GEORGES J. JOYAUX. De Beaujour's Views of America at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, Apr., 1955.
- HARLEY HARRIS BARTLETT. American Captivities in Barbary. *Michigan Alumnus Quar. Rev.*, Spring, 1955.
- ROY F. NICHOLS. The Louisiana Purchase: Challenge and Stimulus to American Democracy. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- BRADFORD PERKINS. England and the Louisiana Question. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1955.
- JOHN S. PANCAKE. The "Invisibles": A Chapter in the Opposition to President Madison. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb., 1955.
- RICHARD K. MORRIS. Parnassus on Wheels: A Biographical Sketch of Henry Barnard, 1811-1900. *Trinity College [Connecticut] Lib. Gaz.*, Feb., 1955.
- RUSH WELTER. The Idea of Progress in America. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June, 1955.
- FRANCIS X. CURRAN. Father Pierre Chazelle, S.J., 1789-1845. *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- AUGUSTUS J. PRAHL. Friedrich Gerstaecker [1816-72], the Frontier Novelist. *Arkansas Hist. Quar.*, Spring, 1955.
- JOSEPH RÖDER. The Prince and the Painter [Maximilian of Wied and Carl Bodmer, 1832]. *Natural Hist.*, June, 1955.
- JOHN Q. ANDERSON. Emerson and "Manifest Destiny." *Boston Public Lib. Quar.*, Jan., 1955.
- JOHN P. HARRISON. Science and Politics: Origins and Objectives of Mid-Nineteenth Century Government Expeditions to Latin America. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- GEORGE L. ANDERSON. The Board of Equitable Adjudication, 1846-1930. *Agric. Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- SEXSON E. HUMPHREYS. Two Garibaldian Incidents in American History. *Vermont Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT. Andrew Jackson and the Agrarian West. *Current Hist.*, June, 1955.
- ROBERT S. LAMBERT. The Democratic National Convention of 1844. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- SCHUYLER C. MARSHALL. The Free Democratic Convention of 1852. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- FREDERICK R. GOFF. Lincolniana Added to the Stern Collection. *Lib. of Congress Quar. Jour.*, Feb., 1955.
- FRANK MALOY ANDERSON. Has the Mystery of "A Public Man" Been Solved? A Rejoinder. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- BRUCE CATTON. America's Heritage. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- DOUGLAS SOUTHWALL FREEMAN. An Address. *Civil War Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- T. HARRY WILLIAMS. Beauregard at Shiloh. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT TAFT. Joseph Becker's Sketch of the Gettysburg Ceremony, November 19, 1863. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Winter, 1954.
- MARCUS W. PRICE. Ships That Tested the Blockade of the Georgia and East Florida Ports, 1861-1865. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1955.
- ROBERT W. DELANEY. Matamoros, Port for Texas during the Civil War. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- OSCAR HANDLIN. Mr. Seward's Bargain: Chance or Destiny? *Atlantic*, Apr., 1955.
- OSGOOD HARDY. Ulysses S. Grant, President of the Mexican Southern Railroad. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- STEFAN VALAVANIS-VAIL. An Econometric Model of Growth: U.S.A., 1869-1953. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, May, 1955.

- WAYNE E. FULLER. Good Roads and Rural Free Delivery of Mail. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- CHARLES C. McLAUGHLIN. The Stanley Steamer: A Study in Unsuccessful Innovation. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial Hist.*, Oct., 1954.
- DONALD S. TULL. A Re-Examination of the Causes of the Decline in Sales of Sapolio. *Jour. of Bus.*, Apr., 1955.
- ELIZABETH DABNEY COLEMAN. Common Sense in the Household. [Marion Harland's cookbook, 1872]. *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring, 1955.
- BEN F. ROGERS. William E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Pan-Africa. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. American Opinion on the Occupation of Rome in 1870. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- C. RANKIN BARNES. Ethelbert Talbot [1848-1928]. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June, 1955.
- ROBERT B. NOTESTEIN. Moralism Rigorism of W. G. Sumner. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June, 1955.
- LAWRENCE H. FUCHS. American Jews and the Presidential Vote. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- FRED A. SHANNON. C. W. Macune and the Farmers' Alliance. *Current Hist.*, June, 1955.
- SIDNEY WARREN. Ignatius Donnelly and the Populists. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM G. CARLETON. Gray Silver and the Rise of the Farm Bureau. *Ibid.*
- GILBERT C. FITE. George N. Peek: Equality for Agriculture. *Ibid.*
- THEODORE SALOUTOS. Edward A. O'Neal: The Farm Bureau and the New Deal. *Ibid.*
- CUSHING STROUT. The Twentieth Century Enlightenment. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- THOMAS F. O'DONNELL. John B. Van Petten: Stephen Crane's History Teacher. *Am. Lit.*, May, 1955.
- MARCUS CUNLIFFE. Stephen Crane and the American Background of *Maggie*. *Am. Quar.*, Spring, 1955.
- BYRON DEXTER. Herbert Croly and the Promise of American Life. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1955.
- DAVID W. NOBLE. Herbert Croly and American Progressive Thought. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Dec., 1955.
- R. V. SAMPSON. Lincoln Steffens: An Interpretation. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- JACK KENNY WILLIAMS. Roosevelt, Wilson, and the Progressive Movement. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- HOBERT P. STURM. Webb-Pomerene Associations [1918—]. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- LUCILLE C. BIRNBAUM. Behaviorism in the 1920's. *Am. Quar.*, Spring, 1955.
- FOSTER RHEA DULLES and GERALD E. RIDINGER. The Anti-Colonial Policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1955.
- ALBERT ALEXANDER. The President and the Investigator: Roosevelt and Dies. *Antioch Rev.*, Spring, 1955.
- G. M. CRAIG. On Understanding American Foreign Policy. *Internat. Jour.*, Spring, 1955.
- HANS L. TREFOUSSE. Failure of German Intelligence in the United States, 1935-1945. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- ERNEST R. MAY. The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Far Eastern War, 1941-1945. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- M. C. HELFERS. The United States Army's History of World War II. *Military Affairs*, Spring, 1955.
- JOHN L. BLACKMAN, JR. Navy Policy toward the Labor Relations of its War Contractors [World War II; concl.]. *Ibid.*
- MITSUO FUCHIDA and MASATAKE OKUMIYA. Prelude to Midway. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, May, 1955.
- JOHN L. CHASE. Unconditional Surrender Reconsidered. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1955.
- BERNARD L. FOY. Dixon-Yates Data. *Lib. Jour.*, May 1, 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- I. S. EMMANUEL. New Light on Early American Jewry. *Am. Jewish Archives*, Jan., 1955.
- FRANCIS D. WEST. John Bartram and Slavery [1776]. *South Carolina Hist. Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- A Precise Journal of General Wayne's Last Campaign in the Year 1794. *Proc. Am. Antiquarian Soc.*, Oct., 1954.

- Hamilton on the Louisiana Purchase: A Newly Identified Editorial from the *New York Evening Post*. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- HARRY E. PRATT. The Lincolns Go Shopping [1842-53]. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Spring, 1955.
- FRANCIS WHITING HATCH. Mary Lincoln Writes to Noah Brooks [1865-66]. *Ibid.*
- E. B. LONG. Dear Julia: Two Grant Letters [Feb., Mar., 1862]. *Civil War Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- WILLIAM ADAM RUSS, JR. Civil War Letters concerning Members of the Co. G, 147th Reg., P.V.I. *Susquehanna Univ. Stud.*, May, 1955.
- WILLIAM T. ALDERSON. The Civil War Reminiscences of John Johnston, 1861-1865 [cont.]. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- WILLIAM A. FORAN. The Weimar Letters of Mary Orr [1873-74]. *South Carolina Hist. Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- FANNY KEMBLE WISTER. Owen Wister's West: The Unpublished Journals. *Atlantic*, May, June, 1955.
- JOHN A. GARRATY. The Correspondence of George A. Myers and James Ford Rhodes, 1910-1923 [cont.]. *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- JOHN A. KOHLMER. Fatal Illness of Calvin Coolidge, Jr. *Temple Univ. Medical Center Bull.*, Apr., 1955.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

CHURCH AND STATE: THE STRUGGLE FOR SEPARATION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1630-1900. By *Charles B. Kinney, Jr.* [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955, pp. vii, 198.) Symptomatic of an intensified concern in our day over the relationship between church and state is this study of the struggle for separation of the two in New Hampshire. Mr. Kinney's book demonstrates that there is room for specialized studies of the problem in the several states, as well as for inclusive treatments like that of Anson Phelps Stokes. Successive chapters of the present study deal with the development in the seventeenth century of a theocratic society; the response in the following century to the rise of dissenting sects; the movement which culminated in the Toleration Act of 1819; constitutional provisions and successive attempts at amendment; and finally the relationship between religious groups and public education. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the study is the parallelism between the New Hampshire story and the more familiar record of the decay of the standing order in Massachusetts. Two flaws, however, mar what would otherwise be a useful monograph. In the first place, the author has been incredibly sloppy in transcribing from the Provincial Papers and similar primary sources. In the second place, his perspective is very rigidly that of our own day, so that he frequently fails to perceive the logic of the assumptions of an earlier generation. Thus he finds "confusion of ideas" in the proposed constitution of 1781, which asserts the principle of freedom of conscience and at the same time requires public support of teachers of piety, religion, and morality. The confusion, however, was not in the minds of the authors of that article. It is easy to show that the ideas of yesterday do not conform to the prejudices of today. The real challenge is to explain why they were persuasive, and even axiomatic, in their own time.

CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

NATHAN TROTTER: PHILADELPHIA MERCHANT, 1787-1853. By *Elva Tooker*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XVIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 276, \$6.00.) This slender well-written volume of 275 pages is the eighteenth of the "Harvard Studies in Business History" and the second to be concerned with Philadelphia business and businessmen. Unlike Henrietta M. Larson's dramatic *Jay Cooke, Private Banker*, Elva Tooker's *Nathan Trotter, Philadelphia Merchant* is prosaic and close to the plodding course of business in the Quaker City. The story is

more than a business biography: it is the story of a family enterprise in the formative years of our national economy, with strong overtones of Quaker conservatism and Quaker morality. While there were Trotters on the Philadelphia commercial scene before the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in association with the important Sansom family, the active career of Nathan Trotter from 1815 to 1853 comprises the heart of Miss Tooker's book. Her narrative contains much information concerning the workings of a small business firm, throws new light on foreign trade in the period, and reveals how a modest businessman provided the credit-hungry venturesome with capital as the nation grew and expanded westward. Trotter, convinced that only European goods were quality goods, dealt in the beginning almost exclusively in imports (mostly metals), but shifting conditions abroad and the changing material structure at home forced him more and more to specialize as a metals dealer and to depend increasingly on domestic manufactures. The stage lines, the canals, the railroads, the tariffs, and even the incoming artisans exercised a powerful influence in this evolution. As profits grew, Trotter became, as did many of his fellow merchants, an investing capitalist with shares in numerous enterprises and with great numbers of loans outstanding on commercial paper and other securities. When he died in 1853, his estate was valued at nearly a million dollars. The concern, no longer wholly dominated by the family, still functions in the unpretentious building on Front Street that has housed it for a century and a quarter. Whether it has been typically American or peculiarly Philadelphian—and Quaker—can be determined only after many similar studies have been made.

JAMES A. BARNES, *Temple University*

SIMEON EBEN BALDWIN: LAWYER, SOCIAL SCIENTIST, STATESMAN. By *Frederick H. Jackson*. Foreword by *Charles E. Clark*. (New York, King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1955, pp. xv, 291, \$5.00.) Here is the first full-length biography of a remarkable man of great gifts and many interests, much honored during his long and prodigiously industrious life but now comparatively forgotten, even in his home state of Connecticut. Simeon E. Baldwin's active career spanned the period from the Civil War to World War I, and during this time he became an eminently successful railroad lawyer and legal scholar, chief justice of Connecticut's Supreme Court of Errors, and finally for two terms Democratic governor of his predominantly Republican state. In addition, Baldwin found time to help reorganize and revitalize the Yale Law School and serve on its faculty for fifty years, was a founder and president of the American Bar Association, and wrote voluminously on a wide range of subjects, including international law, jurisprudence, political science, and history. His writings brought him a considerable reputation and the presidencies of such learned societies as the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. Professor Jackson's biography, which grew out of a doctoral dissertation accepted by the University of Pennsylvania in 1950, stresses Baldwin's driving energy, his great intellectual capacity, and his coldly austere personality. This last characteristic undoubtedly explains why the author has difficulty at times bringing his subject to life. The skeleton of the man is there, but it lacks flesh and blood. This defect probably cannot be wholly remedied until Baldwin's manuscript diary is opened to researchers. Students of intellectual history will be grateful for the lengthy bibliography of Baldwin's writings and for the discussion of his ideas and intellectual development. The reader who is not overly familiar with Connecticut history, however, will wish that Professor Jackson had expanded his treatment of certain subjects. The account of the acrimonious controversy between Baldwin and Theodore Roosevelt in the gubernatorial campaign of 1910, for example, suffers by comparison with the fuller discussion in Forest C. Weir's unpublished 1941 doctoral dissertation, "The Social Opinions of Simeon E.

Baldwin." Professor Jackson's study, based largely on the Baldwin Papers in the Yale Library, is a work of careful scholarship and competent though not distinguished writing. It is a welcome contribution to American intellectual and Connecticut local history.

E. DAVID CRONON, *Yale University*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK. By *Bernard Bellush*.

[Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 585.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 338, \$5.00.) One who studies the career of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President is impressed by the frequent references to his experiences as governor of New York. As Roosevelt himself made clear in Volume I of his *Public Papers*, the genesis of the New Deal, was, in fact, in Albany. For this reason, Dr. Bellush's scholarly study of Roosevelt as governor is especially useful. The principal content of the book is Roosevelt's legislative program for the state and his difficulties with Republican lawmakers. The organization is topical, with successive chapters on prison reform, agriculture, banking, relief, social security, labor, electric power, and utility regulation. In each chapter the subject is covered for both terms of the governorship, 1929 to 1933. The view presented by Dr. Bellush is essentially the view of Roosevelt and his associates. This follows naturally from the fact that the author has relied mainly upon the gubernatorial collection in the F.D.R. Library at Hyde Park and upon Roosevelt's published papers. Corresponding materials of opposition leaders are either non-existent or so widely scattered as to make their use impracticable. While this places a limitation upon the study which ought to be kept in mind, it is a limitation that applies to most historical works. (Perhaps we should call this "documentary determinism.") While the author believes that Roosevelt made less impact as governor than his predecessor, Al Smith, he concludes that Roosevelt showed outstanding executive and political abilities. Dr. Bellush is openly sympathetic toward the governor and the New Deal; whatever criticisms he makes reveal a position to the left of Roosevelt. The book is written in a generally straightforward manner although the author occasionally uses words that carry more propaganda value than historical precision. This study does not alter significantly the established outline of Roosevelt's governorship, but it is the most detailed and thorough record which has yet been written.

THOMAS H. GREER, *Michigan State University*

ARTICLES

RICHARD M. GUMMERE. The Classical Element in Early New England Almanacs. *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Spring, 1955.

CHARLES S. GRANT. Land Speculation and the Settlement of Kent, 1738-1760. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.

WALDO F. GLOVER. Old Scotland in Vermont. *Vermont Hist.*, Apr., 1955.

MARY B. ELLIS. The Hale Family Papers. *Lib. of Congress Quar. Jour.*, May, 1955.

EDWIN W. SMALL. Salem Maritime National Historic Site: A Physical Reminder of Departed Seafaring Glory. *New Eng. Social Stud. Bull.*, May, 1955.

DANA M. HASTINGS. Boston's Little-Known Packet Lines [1822-57]. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1955.

HENRY NASH SMITH. "That Hideous Mistake of Poor Clemens's" [Speech, Boston, Dec. 17, 1877]. *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Spring, 1955.

CHILTON WILLIAMSON. Rhode Island Suffrage since the Dorr War. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.

EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY. Berkeley Divinity School: One Hundred Years, 1854-1954. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Mar., 1955.

KENNETH SCOTT. A British Counterfeiting Press in New York Harbor, 1776. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Apr.-July, 1955.

R. W. G. VAIL. Ninety More Years of the Society's History. *Ibid.*

BLAKE MCKELVEY. The First Century of Art in Rochester—to 1925. *Rochester Hist.*, Apr., 1955.

- ERIC BRUNGER. A Chapter in the Growth of the New York State Dairy Industry, 1850-1960. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- GEORGE E. DEMILLE. The Episcopate of Horatio Potter (1802-1887), Sixth Bishop of New York, 1854-1887. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Mar., 1955.
- SAM W. WITRYOL and W. FREEMAN GALPIN. The Movies Come to Syracuse. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- RUSSELL WIEDER GILBERT. Progress and Problems in Pennsylvania German Research. *Susquehanna Univ. Stud.*, May, 1955.
- LEO A. BRESSLER. Agriculture among the Germans in Pennsylvania during the Eighteenth Century. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- JEAN H. BREIG. Philadelphia and Books: Publishing—A Philadelphia Tradition; Philadelphia Book Stores. *Lib. Jour.*, May 1, 1955.
- ALEXANDER MACKIE. George Duffield [1732-90], Revolutionary Patriot. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1955.

DOCUMENTS

- VLADIMIR HAGELIN and RALPH A. BROWN. Connecticut Farmers at Bunker Hill: The Diary of Colonel Experience Storts. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- HAROLD M. HYMAN. New Yorkers and the Civil War Draft. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- A. H. DODD. Letters from Cambria County, 1800-1823. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- JOHN P. HERRICK. The Little Red School House on Freeman Run [1880's]. *Ibid.*

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION: PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE LATE WAR BY RICHARD TAYLOR, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. Edited by *Richard B. Harwell*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1955, pp. xxxii, 380, \$7.50.) The republication of this classic among Confederate memoirs, long out of print, will be welcomed by both the general reader and the scholar. Richard Harwell, from his wide knowledge of Civil War literature, provides much illuminating detail in the notes, and in several brief editorial sections sketches in the historical background. The biographical introduction stresses the importance of Taylor's memoir as a record of military operations west of the Mississippi. With this estimate the scholar will agree, but like the general reader he may find more reading pleasure in Taylor's pungent account of the Virginia campaigns and the great men who fought them.

HAL BRIDGES, *University of Colorado*

BROKENBURN: JOURNAL OF KATE STONE, 1861-1868. Edited by *John Q. Anderson*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1955, pp. xxii, 400, \$6.00.) The notion has persisted for a quarter of a century that Civil War diaries have reached a saturation point, but journals as meritorious as Kate Stone's readily command a publisher. The value of her account lies in corroborative as well as in new evidence; of whichever variety, this young Confederate's diary is a fresh and wholesome record that supplements the scores of journals already in print. It lacks the maturity of Mary Chesnut's *Diary from Dixie*, but the journalist's understanding of human nature and her vivid portrayal of contemporaries give it substantial quality. Sarah Katherine Stone, a cultured girl of twenty when the conflict began, belonged to the planter class, and her journal is concerned primarily with the lives and fortunes of that group. Her widowed mother, Amanda Stone, had since 1855 managed "Brokenburn," a plantation of 1,260 acres and 150 slaves near Tallulah, Louisiana. A successful planter in peacetime, she is the diary's central figure, about whom family life, plantation activities, and war vicissitudes revolve. When Union soldiers in the Vicksburg area further disrupted economy, the family refuged in Texas. Whether in

Louisiana or Texas, Kate transcribed a faithful record of adjustments to abnormal social and economic life, of suffering and want and heartache, of gossip and greed and jealousy, of heroism behind the lines and misinformation from the front. The diarist often turned abruptly from the pathos of conflict to the beauties of nature in rhythmic prose that captivates the reader and holds attention steadfast until the last page. A few summary paragraphs were penned in 1867 and 1868, and a "Retrospect" was written in 1900. The editor contributes a valuable introduction that identifies persons and provides a backdrop for the ever-shifting scene, transcribes the text with a few justifiable editorial liberties, and appends corrective footnotes to the inevitable errors of daily entries.

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON, *University of Oregon*

ARTICLES

- FRANCIS B. SIMKINS. Tolerating the South's Past. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb., 1955.
- CLEMENT EATON. Recent Trends in the Writing of Southern History. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- RICHARD D. YOUNGER. Southern Grand Juries and Slavery. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR. Voices of Protest from the New South, 1875-1910. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- MORTON BORDEN. The Defeat of James A. Bayard, 1802. *Delaware Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- ROBERT L. SCRIBNER. Mr. Jefferson's Rock Bridge. *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring, 1955.
- MARSHALL FISHWICK. Canal-Boat Days in Virginia. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROY WATSON CURRY. James A. Seddon [1815-80], a Southern Prototype. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROBERT L. SCRIBNER. College on a Race Track [Randolph-Macon, 1830-63]. *Virginia Cavalcade*, Spring, 1955.
- ROBERT S. SMITH. Mill on the Dan: Riverside Cotton Mills, 1882-1901. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb., 1955.
- PATRICIA W. ALGER. Berkeley County in World War II. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- HARRY L. GOLDEN. The Jewish People of North Carolina. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW. North Carolina Tariff Policies, 1775-1789. *Ibid.*
- MARGARET BURR DESCHAMPS. John Chavis as a Preacher to Whites [1801-31]. *Ibid.*
- PAUL MURRAY. Thirty Years of the New History: A Study of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 1924-1953. *Ibid.*
- GILBERT P. VOIGT. Religious Conditions among German-Speaking Settlers in South Carolina, 1732-1774. *South Carolina Hist. Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- J. V. NIELSEN, JR. Post-Confederate Finance in South Carolina. *Ibid.*
- GILBERT P. VOIGT. Ebenezer, Georgia: An Eighteenth-Century Utopia. *Georgia Rev.*, Summer, 1955.
- KENNETH COLEMAN. Social Life in Georgia in the 1780's. *Ibid.*
- MARK F. BOYD. Asi-Yaholo or Osceola. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Jan.-Apr., 1955.
- JOHN M. GOGGIN. Osceola: Portraits, Features, and Dress. *Ibid.*
- KENNETH W. PORTER. Osceola and the Negroes. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES G. TALBERT. A Roof for Kentucky [Indian Warfare, 1781-83]. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- DAVID L. SMILEY. "An Emissary from Cousin Henry": Cassius M. Clay and Henry Clay in the Election of 1844. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1955.
- FRANCIS S. HUTCHINS. Berea College in Its Centennial Year. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- WALTER B. POSEY. Presbyterian Church Influence in Lower Mississippi Valley. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1955.
- CONSTANTINE G. BELISSARY. Behavior Patterns and Aspirations of the Urban Working Classes in Tennessee in the Immediate Post-Civil War Era. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1955.
- ROBERT S. RHODES. The Registration of Voters and the Election of Delegates to the Reconstruction Convention in Alabama. *Alabama Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- HENRY COBB. The Negro as a Free Laborer in Alabama, 1865-1875. *Midwest Jour.*, Fall, 1954.
- GLENN N. SISK. Social Life in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917. *Alabama Rev.*, Apr., 1955.

- WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS. The Alabama State Grange. *Ibid.*
- MRS. EUGENE BOX. Ante-Bellum Travelers in Mississippi. *Jour. Mississippi Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- KATHARINE STEVENS HOLLISTER. The Theatre in Jackson, 1890-1910. *Ibid.*
- DONALD E. EVERETT. Demands of the New Orleans Free Colored Population for Political Equality, 1862-1865. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- MARY ELIZABETH SANDERS. Jared Young Sanders in the State Campaign of 1907-1908. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES F. REHKOPF. The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Missouri, 1819-1844. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1955.
- Id.* The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Missouri. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Mar., 1955.
- OPHIA D. SMITH. The New Jerusalem Church in Missouri. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1955.
- EUTOPIA A. BAILEY. The Small Town in Twentieth Century Missouri Fiction, Part I. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- RUTH IRENE JONES. Hot Springs: Ante Bellum Watering Place. *Arkansas Hist. Quar.*, Spring, 1955.
- RICHARD G. WOOD. The Marine Hospital at Napoleon [1845-68]. *Ibid.*
- VERNON H. BROWN. American Airlines along the Butterfield Mail Route. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Spring, 1955.
- BERLIN B. CHAPMAN. Guthrie from Public Land to Private Property. *Ibid.*
- CLAUDE ELLIOTT. A Check List of Theses and Dissertations in Texas History, 1907-1952 [concl.]. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- WILLIAM SWILLING WALLACE. A Checklist of Western Newspapers in the Mills Collection. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1955.
- FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS. Tomé and Father J. B. R. [John Baptist Ralliere, 1828-1911; cont.]. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- JOHN A. H. SWEENEY. The Norris-Fisher Correspondence: A Circle of Friends, 1779-82. *Delaware Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Early Minutes of Hanover Presbytery [cont.; 1758-1761]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr., 1955.
- LEWIS PINCKNEY JONES. Ambrosio José Gonzalez [1818-93], a Cuban Patriot in Carolina. *South Carolina Hist. Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- Diary of John Berkley Grimbail, 1858-1865 [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- RICHARD L. TROUTMAN. The Emancipation of Slaves by Henry Clay: A Document [1840]. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- FRANCES L. S. DUGAN. Journal of Mattie Wheeler: A Blue Grass Belle Reports on the Civil War. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- DALE L. MORGAN. The Diary of William Ashley, March 25-June 27, 1825 [concl.]. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1955.
- GEORGE H. SHIRK. Mail Call at Fort Washita [1850-52]. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Spring, 1955.
- ANDREW FOREST MUIR. A Texas Convert [Silas Dinsmore] Advises the Bishop of New York, 1840. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June, 1955.
- The Charles Bent Papers [cont.; 1841-1844]. *New Mexico Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- JOSEPH MILTON NANCE. Brigadier General Adrian Woll's Report of His Expedition into Texas in 1842. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- FRONTIERSMAN OF FORTUNE: MOSES M. STRONG OF MINERAL POINT.
By Kenneth W. Duckett. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1955, pp. xii, 253, \$4.00.) Moses M. Strong was a figure of considerable consequence in the first half century of Wisconsin's history as territory and state. Lured westward by the speculative promise of the new country, the young Vermont lawyer ultimately touched many of the important political and economic developments in Wisconsin between

1836 and his death in 1894. Political appointments as deputy surveyor and United States attorney for Wisconsin were followed by election to the territorial council and the constitutional convention of 1846. Thereafter until his death Strong aspired to political office at the hands of Wisconsin's electors but succeeded only in being chosen for the assembly, in 1856, when he and his backers hoped to quash an investigation of their behavior in a railroad-land grant fraud. His political influence nevertheless prevailed among Democrats of the lead region, and during the Civil War he became the spokesman for the Copperhead Democrats in the state. He was an inveterate speculator in lands and railroads, and his attempts to improve his fortunes through exploiting the mineral and timber resources of Wisconsin were as constant a concern with him as were his political ambitions—and in the long run not much more successful. Mr. Duckett's absorbing biography will provide little comfort to the champions of the "noble pioneer." A New Englander whose addiction to the bottle and opposition to abolition contradict the stereotype of Yankee migrants to Wisconsin, Strong seems always to have been governed by political expediency and personal ambition—even in the constitutional convention of 1846, where his role heretofore has been interpreted to the benefit of his reputation. In this, as in most good local history, the by-products are as valuable as the biography itself. The book is rich in detail not only on Wisconsin politics but on methods of land speculation, railroad promotion, and mining and lumbering operations from 1836 to 1870. Mr. Duckett has set the stage for Strong's "operations" in a way that makes his book a real contribution to the economic as well as the political history of the mid-nineteenth-century Middle West.

BAYRD STILL, *New York University*

JOURNAL OF FORTY-NINERS, SALT LAKE TO LOS ANGELES: WITH DIARIES AND CONTEMPORARY RECORDS OF SHELDON YOUNG, JAMES S. BROWN, JACOB Y. STOVER, CHARLES C. RICH, ADDISON PRATT, HOWARD EGAN, HENRY W. BIGLER, AND OTHERS. Edited with Historical Comment by *LeRoy R. Hafen*, Professor of History, Brigham Young University, and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume II.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1954, pp. 332, \$9.50.) The name of this volume fulfills the requirements of a good book-title; you know when you pick it up exactly what you are getting. Furthermore you are glad to get it because it fills a need, and doubly glad because the authors are nationally known authorities in the field of history and have done an excellent job. This is the ideal book for a student or a reader interested in not only the physical properties and the history of the trail of the south-bound Forty-niners but in its atmosphere of uncertainty and dissension as to route and destination—unpleasant aspects that marked its course in a greater degree than that of other trails leading to the Pacific Coast. At least a portion of the trail is in terrain familiar to Dr. Hafen since boyhood so that in his "Historical Background" and notes he manages to impart something of the "feel" of the country. The trail from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, which U.S. Highway 91 now approximates, was but little traveled, and the presentation of six day-by-day diaries recording the journeys of specific companies along special sections is a matter for congratulation. These are supplemented by the narratives supplied by George Q. Cannon, Jacob Y. Stover, and others. All are made infinitely more valuable by the generous footnotes placed handily at the bottom of each page. A staggering amount of research has been done in assembling and editing this material. The volume is indexed briefly until such time as "The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series" shall be complete, when a "comprehensive analytical index" of the entire series will be available. A folding map of the route is included. The book is a prized addition to our knowledge of the more obscure early trails leading to California.

IRENE D. PADEN, *Alameda, California*

THE LARKIN PAPERS: PERSONAL, BUSINESS, AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, MERCHANT AND UNITED STATES CONSUL IN CALIFORNIA. Volume V, 1846. Edited by *George P. Hammond*, Director of the Bancroft Library. (Berkeley, University of California Press for Bancroft Library, 1955, pp. xxviii, 333, \$10.00.) The editor's introduction to this volume constitutes an excellent, succinct account of the Bear Flag Revolt in California. Larkin had very little personal connection with this revolt. In fact, it was regarded by him as a catastrophe since it nullified his efforts to induce annexation to the United States by friendly relationships with the Californians. The papers themselves consist of correspondence to and from Larkin with such persons as Vallejo, Pio Pico, Commodore Sloat, Commodore Stockton, John C. Frémont, and Archibald Gillespie. There is one letter from Jessie Benton Frémont in which she thanks him for his kindness to her husband. There are nineteen letters from Larkin to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, in one of which he enclosed a copy of a message by George Abernethy to the legislative assembly of Oregon. Apparently Larkin had not entirely divested himself of his commercial concerns after becoming United States consul at Monterey, for there is business correspondence with such men as Abel Stearns, John A. Sutter, and Jacob Leese. In general the letters are printed without correction of misspellings or faulty grammatical constructions. Some of the letters from Mexican leaders in Spanish are accompanied by English translations. During the fighting after the Bear Flag Revolt Larkin was captured and held a prisoner for a time at Los Angeles but was well treated. Finally he managed to escape and reached home at Monterey only to find that his little daughter had died after a lingering illness. It is planned that the Larkin Papers will ultimately be published in ten volumes. Subsequent volumes will doubtless deal with the stormy period of the Gold Rush and with the admission of California into the Union. The editor, the Bancroft Library, and the University of California Press are to be congratulated for making available in such an attractive form the papers which otherwise would doubtless be destroyed by too much use by researchers into a colorful period of California and western history

DAN E. CLARK, *University of Oregon*

RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES. By *Grace Heilman Stimson*. [Publications of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 529, \$6.00.) "There is probably no city in America," declared a trade-union official in 1912, "where such unfriendly sentiment obtains against organized labor as in this beautiful city of Los Angeles" (p. 426). It is not surprising therefore that Dr. Stimson's account of the rise of the labor movement in Los Angeles is really a story of one of organized labor's most conspicuous failures. For this failure the author suggests various reasons, but the focus of her attention is on the *Los Angeles Times*, which from 1890 onward provided the leadership for the city's open-shop forces. Chronologically, this book spans the years from 1875, when Local No. 174 of the International Typographical Union was established in Los Angeles, to 1912, when the open shop reigned supreme in the city. Throughout these years the accomplishments of organized labor were meager indeed. Thus, the author concedes that an examination of labor's record to the end of the nineteenth century discloses "no substantial achievements of lasting value" (p. 193); and despite the increase in trade-union membership during the first twelve years of the twentieth century and the aid provided by the powerful San Francisco unions and the American Federation of Labor, the Los Angeles labor movement failed even during this period to make important inroads on the open shop. Dr. Stimson argues that labor's great organizing efforts of 1910 and 1911 might well have proved successful if not for

the dynamiting of the *Times* on October 1, 1910, the subsequent confessions of the McNamara brothers, and the defeat of the Socialists in the municipal election of 1911, but the evidence presented seems to indicate that the employers would have emerged victorious in any event. In preparing this book, the first significant account of the labor movement in southern California, Dr. Stimson utilized a wide range of sources, including the minutes of Typographical Union No. 174 and of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council. She was not, however, always discriminating in her choice of secondary sources to describe national events which impinged on local developments. Unfortunately, Dr. Stimson's book is at least twice as long as it need have been. The pages are crowded with insignificant details, and some of the material is repetitious. The author has all too often simply failed to digest her facts, and the result, one fears, will weary all but the most patient readers. SIDNEY FINE, *University of Michigan*

ARTICLES

- ROBERT LESLIE JONES. The Beef Cattle Industry in Ohio prior to the Civil War. *Ohio Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- PAUL H. BOASE. Slavery and the Ohio Circuit Rider. *Ibid.*
- MAURER MAURER. Richard Clayton, Aeronaut [1835-36]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, Apr., 1955.
- JAMES F. DUNLAP. Sophisticates and Dupes: Cincinnati Audiences, 1851. *Ibid.*
- OWEN M. PETERSON. Ohio Leaders in the Democratic Convention of 1860. *Ibid.*
- HARRY E. PRATT. "Judge" Abraham Lincoln. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Spring, 1955.
- RICHARD S. HAGEN. "What a Pleasant Home Abe Lincoln Has." *Ibid.*
- JOHN M. BECK. The Public Schools and the Chicago Newspapers: 1890-1920. *School Rev.*, May, 1955.
- FRED LONDON. The Underground Railroad along the Detroit River. *Michigan Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- J. GEOFFREY MOORE. Educational Philosophy of Henry R. Pattengill. *Ibid.*
- LYNN H. HALVERSON. The Commercial Fisheries of the Michigan Waters of Lake Superior. *Ibid.*
- VERN SNOW. Silurian Spring Restored at Waukesha [1840-]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- JULIUS F. WOLFF, JR. Some Vanished Settlements of the Arrowhead Country. *Minnesota Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- ARTHUR HECHT. The Evolution of the Duluth Post Office. *Ibid.*
- G. THEODORE MITAU. The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Schism of 1948. *Ibid.*
- HERBERT A. SIMON and FREDERICK STERN. The Effect of Television upon Voting Behavior in Iowa in the 1952 Presidential Election. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1955.
- JAMES C. MALIN. Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas [cont.]. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Winter, 1954.
- ALAN W. FARLEY. An Indian Captivity and its Legal Aftermath. *Ibid.*
- ANGELO SCOTT. How Natural Gas Came to Kansas. *Ibid.*
- MERRILL J. MATTES. Chimney Rock on the Oregon Trail. *Nebraska Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- ROBERT E. BADER. The Curtailment of Railroad Service in Nebraska, 1920-1941. *Ibid.*
- E. WIDTSOE SHUMWAY. Winter Quarters, Nebraska, 1846-1848 [Mormon trek]. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH R. MORRELL. Medicine of the Pioneer Period in Utah. *Utah Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- LEONARD J. ARRINGTON. The Economic Role of Pioneer Mormon Women. *Western Humanities Rev.*, Spring, 1955.
- W. N. DAVIS, JR. Western Justice: The Court at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory. *Utah Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- ERMINIE WHEELER VOEGELIN. The Northern Paiute of Central Oregon: A Chapter in Treaty-Making. *Ethnohistory*, Spring, 1955.
- ROBERT G. ATHEARN. Frontier Critics of the Western Army. *Montana Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- DONALD H. WELSH. Cosmopolitan Cattle King: Pierre Wibaux and the W Bar Ranch. *Ibid.*
- JOHN WELLING SMURR. The Montana "Tax Conspiracy" of 1889, Part I. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE DURHAM. Canoes from Cedar Logs: A Study of Early Types and Designs. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr., 1955.

- ALBERT CULVERWELL. Stronghold in the Yakima Country: Fort Simcoe and the Indian War, 1856-59. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM I. DAVISSON. Public Utilities in a Frontier City: The Early History of the Tacoma Light and Water Company [1884-93]. *Ibid.*
- HAROLD H. DUNHAM. Coloradans and the Maxwell Land Grant [1841-1901]. *Colorado Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- FRANK MERCHANT. Colorado's First Highway Commission, 1910-1912 [concl.]. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- Records of Jacksonville (Illinois) Presbyterian Church [1827-30]. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.* Mar., 1955.
- FERN NANCE POND. New Salem Community Activities [1832-35]. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Spring, 1955.
- JOHN P. LONG. Matthew Arnold Visits Chicago [1884]. *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, Oct., 1954.
- FLORENCE FIFER BOHRER. The Unitarian Hillside Home School [1887-1917]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- PHILIP P. MASON. The Operation of the Sault Canal, 1857: Report of St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal, by Elisha Calkins. *Michigan Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- Minutes of the Chippewa Presbytery, 1860-1861. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1955.
- IVA A. DINGWALL. Some Frontier Remedies and Superstitions. *Minnesota Hist.*, Spring, 1955.
- DALE L. MORGAN. The Reminiscences of James Holt: A Narrative of the Emmett Company. Part II [1846-67]. *Utah Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1955.
- ROBERT G. ATHEARN. Life in the Pikes Peak Region: The Letters of Matthew H. Dale [1859-61]. *Colorado Mag.*, Apr., 1955.
- CHARLES M. GATES. The Indian Treaty at Point No Point [1854-55]. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr., 1955.

Latin-American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

GENERAL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 5583.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. v, 807, \$3.75.) Nineteen thirty-seven was not a year of spectacular developments in the relations between the United States and Latin America. Nevertheless these selections from the diplomatic correspondence of the United States with the other American republics well illustrate some of the basic problems encountered in implementing the "Good Neighbor" policy in the year following the Buenos Aires Conference of December, 1936. Attempts to extend liberal commercial principles in the hemisphere were hindered by discriminatory exchange controls in Argentina and Chile and by Ecuador's economic difficulties. Negotiations aimed at liquidating the financial protectorates over the Dominican Republic and Haiti had not been successfully terminated by the end of the the year. The policy of preserving peace and promoting harmony among the American nations ran into obstacles in disputes which flared up between Ecuador and Peru, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, and Honduras and Nicaragua. Increasing the difficulties, the Chaco Peace Conference continued its negotiations without success, hampered by the unco-operative attitude of Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the president of the conference, and by revolutions in Bolivia and Paraguay. Moreover, relations between the United States and Mexico were disturbed by the events which laid the groundwork for the expropriation of foreign oil interests the following year. To this

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

reviewer among the more interesting documents were the following: the numerous appeals of United States officials to the Latin-American nations to live up to the economic and political principles adopted at the Montevideo and Buenos Aires conferences; those documents reflecting the importance of Latin-American power politics for United States policy, in particular the correspondence relating to a proposed lease of destroyers to Brazil and reports from Bolivia; and finally the document showing that Colombia realized that the "Good Neighbor" policy was a two-way street by its suggestion of co-operation with the United States in surveillance of the approaches to the Panama Canal.

ROBERT N. BURR, *University of California, Los Angeles*

ARTICLES

- Acabará el drama del indígena latinoamericano? *Esto es* (Buenos Aires), Apr. 25, 1955.
- VÍCTOR ALBA. Mitología del movimiento obrero. El nacionalismo proletario. *Cuad. americanos* (México, D.F.), Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- ALBERTO AMERICANO. A evolução de "habeas corpus" no direito brasileiro. *Rev. Univ. católica de S. Paulo* (São Paulo), Dec., 1954.
- OSWALDO BENJAMIN DE AZEVEDO. O comércio do Brasil [1500-1954]. *O observador econ. e fin.* (Rio de Janeiro), Nov., Dec., 1954, Jan., 1955.
- HOWARD F. CLINE. The Inter-American System. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- FELIPE COLOMO CASTRO. Esbozo de una reinterpretación de la historia de México. *Bol. Soc. chihuahuense estud. hist.* (Chihuahua), Mar.-Apr., May, 1955.
- MANUEL DIEGUES JÚNIOR. Bases econômicas e sociais na formação das Alagôas [1545-1950]. *Rev. bras. dos mun.* (Rio de Janeiro), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- HERBERT DORN. Germany in Latin America. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- LEE ELLERICH. France in Latin America. *Ibid.*
- ISIDRO FABELA. Los Estados Unidos y la América Latina (1921-1929). *Cuad. americanos* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- JOHN P. HARRISON. Science and Politics: Origins and Objectives of Mid-Nineteenth Century Government Expeditions to Latin America. *Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- C. A. HAUBERG. Spain in Latin America. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- ANÍBAL ISMODES CAIRO. Cristianismo, política y sociedad en Hispanoamérica. *Estud. americanos* (Sevilla), Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- JOHN J. JOHNSON. Portugal in Latin America. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- JORGE MAÑACH. Religión y libertad en Latinoamérica. *Cuadernos* (Paris), Mar.-Apr., May-June, 1955.
- JAUN MANTOVANI. La educación popular en América. Historia de una idea. *Imago mundi* (Buenos Aires), Mar., 1955.
- ALEXANDER MARCHANT. Britain and the United States in Latin America before 1865. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- CHARLES A. PAGE. Communism and the Labor Movements of Latin America. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Summer, 1955.
- DOMINGO ALBERTO RANGEL. Una interpretación de las dictaduras latinoamericanas. *Cuad. americanos* (México, D.F.), Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- ANTÔNIO DOS SANTOS OLIVEIRA, JR. El papel del Brasil en la redención del indio americano [also in English]. *Bol. indigenista* (México, D.F.), June, 1954.
- RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE. Britain in Latin America after 1865. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.
- LUÍS WECKMAN. A idade média na conquista da América. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), Apr.-June, 1954.
- ARTHUR P. WHITAKER. The United States in Latin America since 1865. *Current Hist.*, Mar., 1955.

INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

- J. A. ABOEL AMARO. Apuntes bibliográficos sobre Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento de América. *Rev. nacional* (Montevideo), nos. 176-80, Aug.-Dec., 1953.
- REBECA BENÍTEZ SÁNCHEZ. Notas sobre la biblioteca de la Universidad de Oriente. *Cuba bibliotecológica* (Havana), July-Sept., 1954.

- GEORGE I. BLANKSTEN. Bibliography on Latin American Politics and Government. *Rev. interam. bibliog.* (Washington), July-Sept., 1955.
- GERMÁN GARCÍA. Las bibliotecas en la Argentina. *Univ. de Antioquia* (Medellín), Jan.-Feb., 1955.
- ALFONSO GARCÍA GALLO. Panorama actual de los estudios de historia del derecho indiano. *Rev. Univ. Madrid*, I, no. 1, 1952.
- RICHARD M. MORSE. Language as a Key to Latin American Historiography. *Americas*, Apr., 1955.
- JUAN J. RAMOS. Historiadores de Cuba. *Rev. Bib. nac.* (Havana), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- CLAUDIO RIBEIRO DE LESSA. Vida e obra de Varnhagen. *Rev. Inst. hist. e geog. bras.* (Rio de Janeiro), Apr.-June, 1954.
- R. H. VALLE. Bibliógrafos y bibliografía de Hernán Cortés. *El Libro y el pueblo* (México, D.F.), June, 1954.

COLONIAL PERIOD

CHAMPION OF REFORM: MANUEL ABAD Y QUEIPO. By *Lillian Estelle Fisher*. (New York, Library Publishers, 1955, pp. xi, 314, \$6.00.) Any middle-of-the-roader living in a historical moment that has brought opposing extremes to bloody revolution might be doubly frustrated and singularly ineffective. Such a person was Bishop Abad y Queipo of Michoacán during the early years of nineteenth-century Mexican life. Born forty years too late to implement Charles III's intelligent colonial policies, he took refuge in patterns of thought which often mingled liberal ends with conservative means, thought which provoked little action and much writing. Despite such harassments as his uphill battle against the stigma of illegitimate birth and his running fight with the Inquisition, the bishop was endlessly a loyal champion of the church. Varying degrees of liberalism punctuated his economic, social, and political thought but invariably he offered the rebels too little too late while demanding too much too soon of the royalists. Accordingly he was equally *non grata* to Father Hidalgo and Viceroy Calleja. From the barrage of writings Abad y Queipo aimed at king and royal advisers in Spain and viceroy and countless others in New Spain, author Fisher derives measures of significance this reviewer cannot accept. The statement that "Abad y Queipo thoroughly understood Mexico's needs" (p. 96) is absurd. Equally untenable is the sweeping conclusion that "he was loved, honored, and respected throughout Mexico" (p. 103). The biographer needs to face the fact that Abad y Queipo is not a required key to understanding the era of the war of independence. The author assumes a measure of intellectual impact for the bishop's thought which is not, and possibly cannot, be documented. Of such is the conclusion he probably influenced many churchmen not to join the revolution. Equally flimsy is the idea that Abad y Queipo's repeated entreaties were responsible for the abolition of the tribute. Rich in the manuscript sources of Seville, the bibliography lacks certain periodical items. An astounding relationship exists between this book and the same writer's unlisted article of 1935 (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, XV) on the same subject. With the article anticipating the chapter, paragraph, even sentence structure of the present work, one is hard put to find any significant conclusion or bibliographical item which was not anticipated twenty years ago.

C. HARVEY GARDINER, *Washington University*

ARTICLES

- SANTIAGO BARAJAS MONTES DE OCA. Régimen de trabajo en la época colonial. *Rev. de trabajo* (México, D.F.), June, 1950.
- GUSTAVO ADOLFO OTERO. La situación social del indio durante el coloniaje. *Khana, Rev. mun. arte y letras* (La Paz), Mar., 1955.
- Recopilación diplomática relativa a las colonias española y francesa de la isla de Santo Domingo. *Rev. Arch. gen. de la nación* (Ciudad Trujillo), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- JULIO LE RIVEREND BRUSONE. Relaciones entre Nueva España y Cuba (1518-1820). *Rev. hist. América* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Dec., 1954.

- JAVIER MALAGÓN. Las "Ordenanças y Copilación de Leyes" del virrey Mendoza para la Audiencia de la Nueva España. *Ibid.*
- JUAN COMAS. Influencia indígena en la medicina hipocrática, en la Nueva España del siglo xvi. *América indígena* (México, D.F.), Oct., 1954.
- R. H. VALLE. Gobernadores de Honduras. Pre-emancipación [a chapter from the Historia de Honduras]. *Rev. Arch. y Bib. nac.* (Tegucigalpa), May-June, 1954.
- ORLANDO FALS-BORDA. Odyssey of a Sixteenth-Century Document: Fray Pedro de Aguado's *Recopilación Historial*. *Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- Id.* Fray Pedro de Aguado, the Forgotten Chronicler of Colombia and Venezuela. *Americas*, Apr., 1955.
- EDUARDO ARCILA FARIAS. La primera ordenanza de las encomiendas en Venezuela. *Rev. nac. de cultura* (Caracas), May-June, 1954.
- J. E. MUÑOZ. Hipólito Ruiz y López (Agosto 8 de 1754-1954) y el memorable viaje científico a los reinos del Perú y Chile en 1777. *Bol. de inform. cien. nac.* (Quito), Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- PEDRO JOSÉ HUERTA. Un histórico solar guayaquileño. *Cuad. hist. y arq.* (Guayaquil), Aug., 1954.
- JORGE CORNEJO BOUROMCLE. El sentido libertario de la revolución de Tupac Amaru. *Rev. Arch. hist. del Cuzco*, V, no. 5, 1954.
- EGON SCHADEN. Os primitivos habitantes do território paulista. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), Apr.-June, 1954.
- THOMAZ OSCAR MARCONDES DE SOUZA. Amerigo Vespucci e a prioridade do descobrimento do Brasil. *Ibid.*
- ARMANDO CARDOSO, S.J. P. Leonardo Nunes e a fundação de São Paulo. *Verbum* (Rio de Janeiro), Dec., 1954.
- JOSÉ ANTÔNIO SOARES DE SOUZA. A população de São Paulo, em 1766 e 1772. *Rev. Inst. hist. e geog. bras.* (Rio de Janeiro), Apr.-June, 1954.
- PLÍNIO DA S. RUSSOMANO. Subsídios para a síntese da economia colonial. *Rev. Mus. Júlio de Castilhos e Arq. hist. Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre), no. 4, 1954.
- MARTIM FRANCISCO RIBEIRO DE ANDRADA. Diário de uma viagem mineralógica pela Província de São Paulo no ano de 1805. *Bol. paulista de geog.* (São Paulo), Oct., 1954.

DOCUMENTS

- Actas capitulares de Cartago, de 1777 a 1785. *Rev. Arch. nac. de Costa Rica* (San José), July-Dec., 1954.
- FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANZ. Descripción de las provincias de la Audiencia de Charcas, 1780-1781 [edited by Gunnar Mendoza L.]. *Bol. Soc. geog. "Sucre"* (Sucre), Jan.-Mar., 1954.
- MIGUEL COSTA FILHO. Documentos relativos a engenhos de Minas Gerais [18th century]. *Brasil açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1954.
- Documentos interessantes para a história do Rio Grande—Papeis inéditos existentes no Arquivo do Museu do Estado [1815]. *Rev. Mus. Júlio de Castilhos e Arq. hist. Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre), no. 4, 1954.

NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

ARTICLES

- L. DERNIGNY and G. DEBIEN. La révolution aux Antilles (1790-1792) [cont.]. *Rev. d'hist. de l'Amér. française* (Montreal), Mar., June, 1955.
- OLGA COLLADO y LÓPEZ. Nicolás Heredia: vida e obra. *Rev. Bib. nac.* (Havana), July-Sept., 1954.
- EMILIO ROIG DE LEUCHSENRING. Juan Gualberto Gómez y su propaganda separatista en Cuba por las vías legales, de 1890 a 1895. *Cuba professional* (Havana), July-Sept., 1954.
- LEOPOLDO HORREGO ESTUCH. La actuación de Juan Gualberto Gómez en la asamblea constituyente de 1901 y en la vida política nacional. *Ibid.*
- GABRIEL DEBIEN. Les colons de Saint-Domingue réfugiés à Cuba (1793-1815). *Rev. de Indias* (Madrid), Oct.-Dec., 1953.
- ULRICK DUVIVIER. Le Congrès de Panama et la République d'Haïti. *Rev. hist. América* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Dec., 1954.

- JOAQUÍN BALAGUER. Una interpretación realista de la historia dominicana. *Clio* (Ciudad Trujillo), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- JULIO RIVERA RIVERA. Orígenes de la organización obrera en Puerto Rico, 1838-1898. *Historia* (Río Piedras), Apr., 1955.
- FRANCISCO ELÍAS DE TEJADA. Puerto Rico y el federalismo en el pensamiento de [Eugenio María de] Hostos. *Estud. americanos* (Sevilla), Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- J. RIVERA ÁLVAREZ. Historia literaria puertorriqueña. *La torre* (Río Piedras), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- FRANK A. KNAPP, JR. Preludios de la pérdida de California. *Hist. mexicana* (México, D.F.), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- JOSÉ GUADALUPE ZUNO. El insurgente Pedro Moreno y la lucha por la independencia de México. *Cuad. americanos* (México, D.F.), Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- OC TAVIO MÉNDEZ PEREIRA. Un constructor de pueblos [Justo Arosemena]. *Ibid.*, Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- JAIME DELGADO. La reforma mexicana. *Cuad. hispanoam.* (Madrid), Feb., 1955.
- FRANCISCO R. ALMADA. Los jueces de Maximiliano, Miramón y Mejía. *Bol. Soc. chihuahuense estud. hist.* (Chihuahua), Mar.-Apr., May, 1955.
- JAIME DELGADO. La revolución mejicana. *Estud. americanos* (Sevilla), Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- EUSEBIO CASTRO. Trayectoria ideológica de la educación en México. *Hist. mexicana* (México, D.F.), Oct.-Dec., 1954.
- E. V. NIEMEYER, JR. Anticlericalism in the Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917. *Americas*, July, 1954.
- WILLIAM DUSENBERRY. Foot and Mouth Disease in Mexico, 1946-1951. *Agric. Hist.*, Apr., 1955.
- ADOLFO MOLINA ORANTES. Aspectos históricos del derecho de asilo en Guatemala. *Rev. Asoc. guatemalteca der. internac.* (Guatemala), Jan., 1954.
- C. G. FENWICK. Jurisdictional Questions Involved in the Guatemalan Revolution. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law.*, Oct., 1954.
- P. J. CHAMORRO. La ejecución de Walker en Honduras. *Rev. Arch. y Bib. nac.* (Tegucigalpa), May-June, 1954.
- JULIO YCAZA TIGERINO. Las clases sociales en Nicaragua. *Cien. soc.* (Washington), Feb., 1955.
- CLAUDIO GUTIÉRREZ CARRANZA. Ensayo sobre las generaciones costarricenses 1823-1953. *Rev. Univ. de Costa Rica* (San José), Nov., 1954.
- ENRIQUE MACAYA LAHMANN. Institucionalidad municipal en los orígenes de nuestras primeras constituciones. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- RAFAEL NIETO Y CORTADELLAS. Documentos sacramentales de algunos cubanos ilustres [19th century]. *Rev. Bib. nac.* (Havana), Jan.-Mar., 1955.
- Circular de don Aurelio Méndez Martínez a varios puertorriqueños, Samaná, 11 de mayo de 1896. *Historia* (Río Piedras), Apr., 1955.
- FLEMING H. JAMES. Excerpts from the Mexican Diary of Charles Albert James, 1871-72. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1955.

SOUTH AMERICA

CARLOS DE ALVEAR: MAN OF REVOLUTION: THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER OF ARGENTINA'S FIRST MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES. By *Thomas B. Davis, Jr.* (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 305, \$5.75.) This is a book that has been needed for some time. While economic and political bases can be found for the consistent tendency of the Argentine Republic to drag its feet in the development of the inter-American system under the leadership of the United States, it is nevertheless enlightening to read a study of the first Argentine diplomatic mission to the United States. The reader of this book will not find Alvear an attractive personality. He must conclude that Alvear was essentially a selfish man, having more regard for his own interests than for those of his country. His declarations of liberalism and democracy ring somewhat hollow against the fact of his long service to the dictator, Juan Manuel Rosas. Also, Alvear was mistaken in his conviction that the intention of of the United States was ultimately to absorb all of Latin America. He gave too much

weight to the declarations of certain loud-speaking individuals and to certain elements of our press. A particularly interesting section of the study describes Alvear's activities as a propagandist in the American press. This reader finds it a bit hard to believe that Alvear's influence was determinative in establishing in Argentina a basic distrust of the United States. The distrust was, and apparently is, there. But the Falkland Islands episode occurred in the midst of the long interval between 1824 and 1838 when Alvear was not in Washington and when he was not in a position of influence at Buenos Aires. However, it is certainly a fact that so far as his influence went it was directed toward increasing distrust of the intentions of the United States. Aside from this reservation, it must be said that Mr. Davis has done a fine job. His research has been wide-reaching and the documentary material he found has been well used. The style of his English and his organization of the work are excellent. He is to be heartily congratulated. The scholar who will eventually write the history of United States-Argentine diplomatic relations will be greatly indebted to him.

WATT STEWART, *State University of New York, Albany*

MARCELINO UGARTE, 1822-1872: UN JURISTA EN LA EPOCA DE LA ORGANIZACION NACIONAL. By Ricardo Zorraquín Becú. [Colección de Estudios para la historia del derecho argentino, V.] (Buenos Aires, Ministerio de Educación, Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Historia del Derecho, 1954, pp. 342.) Marcelino Ugarte was one of the most distinguished Argentine jurists of his day. Professor in the law faculty, deputy and senator in the provincial legislature of Buenos Aires and in the national congress, and ultimately member of the supreme court of the nation, his intellectual powers, independence of judgment, and austerity of character made a deep impression upon a generation notable for the number of outstanding personalities in public life. During the critical period of national organization after the fall of Rosas, his sturdy opposition to the centralizing trends of *porteño* policy excluded him from the high political office that his talents and assiduity warranted. Nevertheless his writings, speeches in congress, and judicial opinions commanded the admiration and esteem of his contemporaries. Dr. Zorraquín Becú, an eminent legal historian of Argentina, has written not so much a biography as an essay on the juridical and constitutional evolution of the nation during the twenty years following the battle of Caseros, events with which the intellectual activities of Ugarte were closely associated. Access to Ugarte's extensive private archives, placed at his disposition by Ugarte's son, gave excuse for a fresh appraisal of the history of the time. As intimated in the prologue, legal education in Buenos Aires in the middle of the nineteenth century, the constitutional reforms of 1860, and the policies of the administration of Bartolomé Mitre, provide the central themes of the book. Chapters III and IV offer an eloquent and meticulously documented survey of this period of constitutional development that may be recommended to every historian of Argentina in this country. The writer emphasizes throughout the paramount role that lawyers and the legal philosophy of the day played in the vigorous and remarkably successful effort, during this period, to impose new institutions, and legal order and security, in the place of arbitrary rule that characterized the rule of Rosas and the other *caudillos*. Ugarte himself was a determined defender of the federal system, against what he believed were the adverse proclivities already appearing during the presidency of Mitre. And the writer obviously shares his predilections. Ugarte was in fact "the first writer who denounced the progressive deformation of our federal regime, and the absorbing tendency of the central powers, which was to be accentuated, as is notorious, with the passing of the years and with the increase of statism" (p. 173).

C. H. HARING, *Harvard University*

ARTICLES

- GABRIEL GIRALDO JARAMILLO. Don José Félix de Restrepo, primer lógico colombiano [1760-1832]. *Bolívar* (Bogotá), Nov.-Dec., 1954.
- LUÍS MARTÍNEZ DELGADO. La administración del doctor Manuel María Mallarino [Colombia, 1850's]. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1955.
- RICARDO SANTA MARÍA. La economía colombiana en 1874. *Vida* (Bogotá), Aug.-Oct., 1954.
- DANIEL VALCÁRCEL. Fidelismo y separatismo del Perú [1750-1825]. *Rev. hist. América* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Dec., 1954.
- JOAQUÍN GAUTIER. La conducta de Sucre y Olañeta en el desenlace del motín del 18 de abril de 1828. *Bol. Soc. geog. "Sucre"* (Sucre), Jan.-Mar., 1954.
- VÍCTOR FRANKL. El junsnaturalismo tomista de Fray Francisco de Vitoria como fuente del plan de confederación del Dr. José Gaspar de Francia. *Rev. hist. América* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Dec., 1954.
- ENRIQUE DE GANDÍA. El 25 de mayo de 1810. La historia tradicional y la historia renovadora. *Rev. ciencias jurídicas y sociales* (Santa Fe), nos. 76-77, 1953.
- O. G. UNSINGER. Sistematización de las negociaciones diplomáticas argentinas en el período de la revolución (1810-1816) [cont.]. *Rev. der. internac. y cien dip.* (Rosario), Jan., 1951-Dec., 1953.
- ALFREDO GARGARO. San Martín en el ejército del norte. *San Martín, Rev. Inst. nac. sanmartiniano* (Buenos Aires), Sept.-Dec., 1954.
- MANUEL LIZONDO BORDA. San Martín y Belgrano. Su encuentro en Las Juntas y Yatasto. *Ibid.*, Jan.-Apr., 1954.
- RAÚL S. MARTÍNEZ MORENO. El general San Martín y el derecho internacional público. *Yapeyú* (Buenos Aires), Jan.-June, 1954.
- JOSÉ B. BARREIRO. El general Paz y la organización nacional. *Cursos y conferencias* (Buenos Aires), Dec., 1954.
- CECILIO DONNER. Historia del crédito público argentino: "La dictadura." *Bol. del Seminario* (Santa Fe), Dec., 1952.
- JAMES R. SCOBIE. The Aftermath of Pavón. *Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1955.
- VÍCTOR LASCANO. Mitre, el gran ciudadano. *Revisión* (Buenos Aires), July, 1954.
- L. I. DE OLMOS. Historia de la política económica argentina. *Rev. internac. y dipl.* (México, D.F.), Sept. 30, 1954.
- F. E. PADILLA. Cuatro pilares de nuestra economía agraria en el pasado. *Sarmiento* (Tucumán), Oct., 1954.
- ROBERTO F. GIUSTI. El teatro rioplatense. Del circo a las modernas expresiones de vanguardia. *Cuad. americanos* (México, D.F.), Sept.-Oct., 1954.
- JOSÉ V. TESORIERI. Las libertades de ayer y de hoy en Argentina. *Hechos e ideas* (Buenos Aires), Feb., 1955.
- E. J. CHAMBERS. Some Factors in the Deterioration of Argentina's External Position, 1946-1951. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Winter, 1954.
- H. G. WARREN. Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Argentina. *Ibid.*
- N. P. MACDONALD. The Continental Policy of President Peron. *Quar. Rev.* (London), Apr., 1955.
- P. B. TAYLOR, JR. Interparty Co-operation and Uruguay's 1952 Constitution. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Sept., 1954.
- DAVID CARNEIRO. O General Madeira, e os conselheiros Vasconcelos Drummond e José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. *Ocidente* (Lisbon), Nov., 1954.
- ALDO M. AZEVEDO. Lord Cochrane. Primeiro almirante brasileiro. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), July-Sept., 1954.
- DANTE DE LAYTANO. A confederação do equador e a república riograndense. *Rev. Mus. Júlio de Castilhos e Arq. hist. Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre), no. 4, 1954.
- SEBASTIÃO PAGANO. As leis de sucessão na monarquia brasileira. *Rev. Inst. genealógico da Bahia* (Salvador), no. 7, 1952.
- AMARO QUINTAS. O sentido social da revolução praieira. Ensino de interpretação. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), July-Sept., 1954.
- JOÃO CARLOS BEZERRIL. D. Antônio de Macedo Costa e a separação da igreja do estado [1889-90]. *Voices de Petrópolis*, Jan.-Feb., 1955.

- MANUEL DIEGUES, JR. O italiano no Brasil: Um capítulo na história de imigração em nosso país. *O observador econ. e fin.* (Rio de Janeiro), Oct., 1954.
- HÉLIO VIANNA. João Capistrano de Abreu (1853-1927); síntese biobibliográfica. *Rev. interam. bibliog.* (Washington), July-Sept., 1954.
- J. CRUZ COSTA. Esboço duma história das idéias no Brasil na primeira metade do século xx [cont.]. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), July-Sept., 1954.
- ALAN K. MANCHESTER. Em busca de uma chave para a história do Brasil. *Kriterion* (Belo Horizonte), July-Dec., 1954.

DOCUMENTS

- Diario de un soldado de la independencia altoperuana en los valles de Sicasica y Hayopaya, 1816-1821. *Univ. San Francisco Xavier* (Sucre), Jan.-July, 1951.
- ENRIQUE DE GANDÍA. Antecedentes de los sucesos de mayo de 1810 en Buenos Aires. El juicio de la Audiencia de Buenos Aires. *Rev. hist. América* (México, D.F.), Jan.-Dec., 1954.
- TULLIO HALPERIN DONGHI. Rosismo y restauración europea en los informes del cónsul sardo en Buenos Aires, barón Henri Picolet d'Hermillon (1835-1848). *Ibid.*
- O município nas constituições da república [an index of constitutional provisions (1890-1946) and decree-laws (1937-50) affecting municipal administration]. *Rev. bras. dos mun.* (Rio de Janeiro), July-Sept., 1954.

Other Books Received¹

- ABEL, ARMAND. *Le Roman d'Alexandre: légendaire médiéval*. Collections Lebègue & Nationale, no. 112. Brussels: Office de Publicité. 1955. Pp. 131. 65 B. fr.
- Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. *Instructions pour la publication des textes historiques*. Brussels: Palais des Académies. 1955. Pp. 25.
- ADY, CECILIA M. *Lorenzo Dei Medici and Renaissance Italy*. Teach Yourself History Library. New York: Macmillan. 1955. Pp. x, 176. \$2.00.
- ANDREAS, WILLY. *Carl August von Weimar in und nach der Kampagne gegen Frankreich*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1954, Heft 5. Munich: C. H. Beck for the Academy, 1955. Pp. 71.
- BAILEY, THOMAS A. *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. 5th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1955. Pp. xxviii, 969, xxxix. \$6.50. Textbook.
- BALSAN, FRANÇOIS. *Capricorn Road*. Trans. from the French by Pamela Search. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 252. \$4.75.
- BATTAGLIA, A., et al. *Dieci anni dopo, 1945-1955: saggi sulla vita democratica italiana*. Bari: Laterza. 1955. Pp. xii, 598. L. 3000.
- BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG. *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. 4th ed. New York: Henry Holt. 1955. Pp. vi, 1018. \$7.50. Textbook.
- BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG. *The United States as a World Power: A Diplomatic History, 1900-1955*. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt. 1955. Pp. xi, 516. \$5.25. Textbook.
- BENNS, F. LEE. *European History since 1870*. 4th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1955. Pp. xx, 1020, 116 (bibliog. and index). \$6.00.
- Beth El Story. The Jews in Michigan before 1850*, by Irving I. Katz, and *Three Hundred Years in America*, by Jacob R. Marcus. Detroit: Wayne University Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 238.
- BIESANZ, JOHN and MAVIS. *The People of Panama*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 418. \$5.50.
- BINGHAM, MILLICENT TODD, (ed.). *Emily Dickinson's Home: Letters of Edward Dickinson and His Family*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xvii, 600. \$6.50.
- BLANCHARD, RAE, (ed.). *The Englishman: A Political Journal by Richard Steele*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxii, 497. \$8.00.
- BLUED, The Rev. BENJAMIN J. *Three Archbishops of Milwaukee: Michael Heiss (1818-1890), Frederick Katzner (1844-1903), Sebastian Messmer (1847-1930)*. Milwaukee: the Author. 1955. Pp. 160. \$4.00.

¹ Includes books, except those to be reviewed, received April 15-July 15, 1955.

- BOLTON, THEODORE, and CORTELYOU, IRWIN F. *Ezra Ames of Albany: Portrait Painter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1763-1836*. And a Catalogue of His Works. New York: New-York Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xx, 398. \$4.95.
- BRACE, RICHARD M. *The Making of the Modern World: From the Renaissance to the Present*. New York: Rinehart. 1955. Pp. xxvi, 899. \$6.50. Textbook.
- BREWSTER, WILLIAM. *The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier, from 1720 to the Close of the Revolution*. Philadelphia: George S. MacManus. 1954. Pp. vi, 237. \$4.00.
- BRINTON, CRANE; CHRISTOPHER, JOHN B.; and WOLFF, ROBERT LEE. *A History of Civilization*. Vol. I, *Prehistory to 1715*; Vol. II, *1715 to the Present*. New York: Prentice-Hall. 1955. Pp. xviii, 686; xiv, 722. \$16.00. Textbook.
- BROOKS, ERIC ST. JOHN, (ed.). *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima & Secunda*. Edited from the Mss. in the Public Record Office, London. Dublin: Stationery Office for Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1953. Pp. xxx, 345. £2.6s.
- BUTTS, R. FREEMAN. *A Cultural History of Western Education: Its Social and Intellectual Foundations*. 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1955. Pp. xii, 645. \$6.50. Textbook. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, LIII (October, 1947), 77.
- CARR, SIR CECIL. *A Victorian Law Reformer's [Henry Bellenden Ker] Correspondence*. Selden Society Annual Lecture 24th March 1955. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1955. Pp. 26. 4s.
- CARTER, THOMAS FRANCIS. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*. Revised by L. Carrington Goodrich. 2d ed. New York: Ronald Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 293. \$10.00. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, XXXII (October, 1926), 86.
- CHAPMAN, ARTHUR W. *The Story of a Modern University: A History of the University of Sheffield*. New York: Oxford University Press for University of Sheffield. 1955. Pp. xix, 551. \$8.00.
- CLARK, LEADIE M. *Walt Whitman's Concept of the American Common Man*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xiv, 178. \$3.75.
- CLOUGH, WILSON OBER, (ed.). *Our Long Heritage: Pages from the Books Our Founding Fathers Read*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press for William Robertson Coe American Studies Program, University of Wyoming. 1955. Pp. xv, 297. \$4.50.
- COCKRELL, MONROE F., (introd.). *The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth and Court-Martial of Gen. Van Dorn*. By an Unknown Author. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1955. Pp. 78. \$1.50.
- COULTER, E. MERTON. *Wormsloe: Two Centuries of a Georgia Family*. Wormsloe Foundation Publications, No. 1. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 322. \$5.00.
- COULTON, THOMAS EVANS. *A City College in Action: Struggle and Achievement at Brooklyn College, 1930-1955*. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xix, 233. \$3.50.
- CRONAN, EDWARD P. *The Dignity of the Human Person*. Foreword by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xvi, 207. \$3.00.
- Descriptive List of Research Papers and Theses Accepted by the Graduate School of Mexico City College, 1947-1954*. Compiled by the Staff of the College Library. A Contribution to the VI Feria Mexicana del Libro, November 20-December 15. Mexico City: Mexico City College Press. 1954. Pp. 48.
- Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Sous la direction de M. Prevost et Roman d'Amat. Fasc. XXXIX, *Brun-Cabre*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1955. Pp. 514-767.
- DRU, ALEXANDER, (ed.). *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*. New York: Pantheon Books. 1955. Pp. xi, 243. \$3.75.
- DWYER, JOHN T. *One Hundred Years an Orphan: St. Vincent's, San Francisco's Home for Boys at San Rafael, 1855-1955*. Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1955. Pp. 159. \$3.00.
- EHRENBERG, VICTOR, and JONES, A. H. M. (comps.). *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 171. \$3.40. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, LVI (October, 1950), 173.
- ELLIOTT, WILLIAM Y., et al. *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy: Its Concepts, Strategy, and Limits*. Report of a Study Group Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association. New York: Henry Holt. 1955. Pp. xv, 414. \$6.00.
- ESSLINGER, WILLIAM. *Politics and Science*. Foreword by Albert Einstein. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xi, 167. \$3.00.
- EVANS, F. BOWEN. *Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities*. New York: Macmillan. 1955. Pp. xiii, 222. \$3.00.

- FINBERG, H. P. R. *Roman and Saxon Withington: A Study in Continuity*. Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, No. 8. Leicester: University College of Leicester. 1955. Pp. 40. 6s.
- FINK, D. P. J. *Queen Mary's Grammar School, 1554-1954: A History from the Official Records*. Walsall, Staffordshire, Eng.: Queen Mary's Club. 1954. Pp. 500. 50s.
- FLETCHER, STEVENSON WHITCOMB. *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1955. Pp. xx, 619. \$3.50.
- FORD, THOMAS R. *Man and Land in Peru*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 176. \$4.00.
- FOX, SIR CYRIL. *Offa's Dyke: A Field Survey of the Western Frontier-Works of Mercia in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries*. A.D. Foreword by Sir Frank Stenton. New York: Oxford University Press for British Academy. 1955. Pp. xxvii, 317, 46 plates. \$10.10.
- FREYER, HANS. *Theorie des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1955. Pp. 260. DM 12.80.
- FUCHIDA, MITSUO, and OKUMIYA, MASATAKE. *Midway, the Battle that Doomed Japan: The Japanese Navy's Story*. Ed. by Clarke H. Kawakami and Roger Pineau. Foreword by Admiral Raymond A. Spruance. Annapolis, Md.: U. S. Naval Institute. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 266. \$4.50.
- GALLIN, MOTHER MARY ALICE, O.S.U. *Ethical and Religious Factors in the German Resistance to Hitler*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. x, 231. \$2.50.
- GINSBERG, LOUIS. *History of the Jews of Petersburg, 1789-1950*. Petersburg, Va.: the Author. 1954. Pp. viii, 110.
- GLASER, ABRAM. *This World of Ours*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xiii, 492. \$5.00.
- GOODRICH, LELAND M., and SIMONS, ANNE P. *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1955. Pp. xiii, 709. \$6.00.
- GOTTESMAN, RITA SUSSWEIN, (comp.). *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799*. New York: New-York Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xix, 484. \$4.00.
- GRIFFITH, DUDLEY DAVID. *Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1953*. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Volume XIII. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 398. \$5.00.
- GSOVSKI, VLADIMIR, (ed.). *Church and State behind the Iron Curtain: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania*. With an introd. on the Soviet Union. New York: Frederick A. Praeger for Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, Inc. 1955. Pp. xxxi, 311. \$5.00.
- Guia de instituciones y sociedades en el campo de las ciencias sociales*. Part II, *América Latina*. 2d ed., rev. and enlarged. Publicaciones de la Oficina de Ciencias Sociales, Guías de Instituciones, I. Washington, Union Panamericana, Departamento de Asuntos Culturales, 1954. Pp. vi, 184. 20 cents.
- GUSTAVSON, CARL G. *A Preface to History*. McGraw-Hill Series in History. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1955. Pp. ix, 222. \$5.00. Textbook.
- HAMILTON, THOMAS H., and BLACKMAN, EDWARD, (eds.). *The Basic College of Michigan State*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 127. \$2.75.
- HAYWARD, J. F. *European Firearms*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 53, 34 plates. \$7.50.
- HERRICK, CHARLES JUDSON. *Clarence Luther Herrick: Pioneer Naturalist, Teacher, and Psychobiologist*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 45, Part 1. Philadelphia: the Society. 1955. Pp. 85. \$1.50.
- HERRING, HUBERT. *A History of Latin America: From the Beginnings to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xx, 796, xxvi. \$6.50. Textbook.
- HIRSCH, HELMUT. *Die Saar von Genf: die Saarfrage während des Völkerbundesregimes von 1920-1935*. Rheinisches Archiv, 46. Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid. 1954. Pp. 96.
- HOGAN, WILLARD N. *International Conflict and Collective Security: The Principle of Concern in International Organization*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 202. \$3.50.
- HOYT, EDWARD A., (ed.). *State Papers of Vermont*. Vol. IX, *General Petitions, 1788-1792*. Montpelier: Howard E. Armstrong, Secretary of State. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 574.
- HUNNINGHER, B. *The Origin of the Theater*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1955. Pp. 139. 14.50 f.

- ILLINGWORTH, FRANK. *Highway to the North*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 293. \$7.50.
- IRVING, JOHN TREAT, JR. *Indian Sketches Taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes [1833]*. Edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1955. Pp. xlii, 275. \$5.00.
- ISNARD, HILDEBERT. *Madagascar*. Collection Armand Colin (Section de géographie), no. 301. Paris: Colin. 1955. Pp. 219. 250 fr.
- JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Ed. with introd. and notes by WILLIAM PEDEN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va. 1955. Pp. xxv, 315. \$5.00.
- JENKIN, THOMAS P. *The Study of Political Theory*. Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science. Garden City: Doubleday. 1955. Pp. x, 99. 95 cents.
- KIRK, GEORGE E. *A Short History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to Modern Times*. 3d ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. ix, 292. \$4.50. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, LV (October, 1949), 100.
- KOLEHMAINEN, JOHN I. *Sow the Golden Seed: A History of the Fitchburg (Massachusetts) Finnish-American Newspaper, Raivaaja (the Pioneer), 1905-1955*. Fitchburg: Raivaaja Publishing Company. 1955. Pp. xii, 150.
- KUCHEROV, BERTHA, (comp.). *Aeronautical Sciences and Aviation in the Soviet Union: A Bibliography*. Washington: Reference Department, Library of Congress. 1955. Pp. xx, 274. \$2.00.
- KYBAL, VLASTIMIL. *Francis of Assisi*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 217. \$3.00.
- LE LANNOU, MAURICE. *Le Brésil*. Collection Armand Colin (Section de Géographie), no. 303. Paris: Colin. 1955. Pp. 274. 300 fr.
- LE MAY, G. H. L. *British Government, 1914-1953: Select Documents*. London: Methuen. 1955. Pp. xvi, 416. 25s.
- LEWIS, OSCAR. *High Sierra Country*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Boston: Little, Brown. 1955. Pp. ix, 291. \$4.50.
- LINDSEY, DAVID. *Ohio's Western Reserve: The Story of Its Place Names*. Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Western Reserve University and Western Reserve Historical Society. 1955. Pp. vii, 111. \$2.75.
- LUETHY, HERBERT. *France against Herself: A Perceptive Study of France's Past, Her Politics, and Her Unending Crises*. Trans. by Eric Mosbacher. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. xi, 476. \$6.50.
- MADISON, VIRGINIA. *The Big Bend Country of Texas*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 263. \$4.50.
- MASON, EDWARD S. *Promoting Economic Development: The United States and Southern Asia*. Claremont, Calif.: Claremont College. 1955. Pp. 83. \$2.75.
- MAXWELL, WILLIAM D. *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*. The Baird Lectures, 1953. New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 190. \$2.40.
- MEIER, LUDGER, O.F.M. *Die Werke des Erfurter Kartäusers Jakob von Jüterbog in ihrer handschriftlichen Überlieferung*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Band XXXVII, Heft 5. Münster: Aschendorff. 1955. Pp. xi, 94. DM 7.
- MITCHELL, Lt. Col. JOSEPH B. *Decisive Battles of the Civil War*. With Thirty-Five Maps Designed by the Author. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1955. Pp. 226. \$4.00.
- MOLLAT, G. *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V. (1362-1370) se rapportant à la France, publiées ou analysées d'après les registres d'Avignon et du Vatican*. Fasc. 4, *Table des matières*. Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3e série. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1955. Pp. 116.
- MYERS, ALBERT COOK. *Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, 1675-1679: West Side Delaware River, from Newcastle County, Delaware, into Bucks County, Pennsylvania*. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware. 1955. Pp. 112. \$4.00.
- NADA, NARCISO. *La crisi religiosa di Carlo Ludovico di Borbone e i suoi riflessi politici (1833)*. Estratto dagli *Atti delle Scienze di Torino*, LXXXIX (1954-55). Turin: Vincenzo Bona, 1955. Pp. 77.
- National Archives. *Reference Information Papers*. No. 44, *Materials in the National Archives relating to the Middle East*. National Archives Publication, No. 55-16. Washington: General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service. 1955. Pp. 96.

- NELSON, JAMES. *The Mine Workers' District 50: The Story of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Unions of Massachusetts and Their Growth into a National Union*. New York: Exposition Press. 1955. Pp. 158. \$3.50.
- NEUMANN, ROBERT G. *European and Comparative Government*. McGraw-Hill Series in Political Science. 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1955. Pp. xiii, 818. \$6.50. Textbook.
- NOSHY, IBRAHIM. *The Coptic Church: Christianity in Egypt*. Rev. and ed. by Patricia Natirbov. Washington: Ruth Sloan Associates. 1955. Pp. 23.
- Österreichischen Alpenländer, Erläuterungen zum historischen Atlas der. Hrsg. von der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. II. Abteilung, *Die Kirchen- und Grafschaftskarte*. 5. Teil, *Tirol (Nord- und Osttirol)*. 1. und 2. Lieferung, von Sylvia Sterner-Rainer. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen. 1954. Pp. 39, 41-131. Sch. 18, Sch. 36.
- OTERO, GUSTAVO ADOLFO. *Life in the Spanish Colonies: With Particular Reference to Upper Peru, now Bolivia*. Bertrand Bilingual Texts, Vol. I. New York: Lewis Bertrand, Languages. 1955. Pp. xviii, 125. \$3.00.
- PATTERSON, SAMUEL WHITE. *Hunter College: Eighty-five Years of Service*. New York: Lantern Press. 1955. Pp. xix, 263. \$3.50.
- PECK, ELISABETH S. *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1955. Pp. xix, 217. \$3.00.
- Pictorial Americana: A Select List of Photographic Negatives in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress*. Comp. by Milton Kaplan. Ed. by Charles G. LaHood, Jr. 2d ed. Washington: Library of Congress. 1955. Pp. 68. 25 cents.
- PINTAR, JOHN I. *Four Years in Tito's Hell*. Buenos Aires: H.P.K. 1954. Pp. 301.
- POOL, ITHIEL DE SOLA, et al. *Satellite Generals: A Study of Military Elites in the Soviet Sphere*. Hoover Institute Studies, Series B: Elites, No. 5. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 165. \$1.75.
- POPLAI, S. L., (ed.). *Asia and Africa in the Modern World: Basic Information concerning Independent Countries*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House for Asian Relations Organization, New Delhi. 1955. Pp. viii, 218. \$1.25.
- PRATT, JULIUS W. *A History of United States Foreign Policy*. New York: Prentice-Hall. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 808. \$9.25. Textbook.
- Prints and Photographs Recently Cataloged and Made Available for Reference, Selective Checklist of. Lots 4121-4801*. Washington: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. 1954. Pp. 87. 70 cents.
- PULLEYBLANK, E. G. *Chinese History and World History*. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered in Cambridge on 24 February, 1955. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. 36. 50 cents.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT. *The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole*. Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. 182. \$4.00.
- RIEGEL, ROBERT E., and LONG, DAVID F. *The American Story*. Vol. II, *Maturity*. McGraw-Hill Series in History. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1955. Pp. x, 544. \$6.00. Textbook.
- ROBERTS, HELEN H., and SWADESH, MORRIS. *Songs of the Nootka Indians of Western Vancouver Island*. Based on Phonographic Records, Linguistic and Other Field Notes Made by Edward Sapir. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. XLV, Part 3, 1955. Philadelphia: the Society. 1955. Pp. 197-327. \$2.00.
- ROBINSON, BLACKWELL P., (ed.). *The North Carolina Guide*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xxi, 649. \$5.00.
- ROSTOW, W. W., in collaboration with RICHARD W. HATCH. *An American Policy in Asia*. Cambridge: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1955. Pp. xvii, 59. \$1.00.
- RYAN, ALVAN S., (ed.). *The Brownson Reader*. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1955. Pp. xii, 370. \$4.50.
- SAX, KARL. *Standing Room Only: Challenge of Overpopulation*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1955. Pp. 206. \$3.00.
- SCHILLER, A. ARTHUR. *The Formation of Federal Indonesia, 1945-1949*. The Hague: W. van Hoeve. 1955. Pp. x, 472. Hfl. 15.

- SCHREIBER, WILLIAM I. *The Fate of the Prussian Mennonites*. Goettingen: Goettingen Research Committee. 1955. Pp. 47.
- SCHRIEKE, B. *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings*. Part One. Selected Studies on Indonesia, by Dutch Scholars, Vol. II. The Hague: W. van Hoeve. 1955. Pp. vii, 313. Hfl. 9.50.
- SCULLY, VINCENT J., JR. *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. 181, plates. \$6.50.
- SHANKLE, GEORGE EARLIE. *American Nicknames: Their Origin and Significance*. 2d. ed. New York: H. W. Wilson. 1955. Pp. vii, 524. \$7.50.
- SHIRER, WILLIAM L. *The Challenge of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland in Our Time*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1955. Pp. 437. \$5.00.
- SHORT, LLOYD M.; PENNIMAN, CLARA; FLOM, FLOYD O. *The Minnesota Department of Taxation: An Administrative History*. Public Administration Training Center, University of Minnesota, Studies in Administration, No. 3. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 176. \$3.00.
- SMITH, GOLDWIN. *A Constitutional and Legal History of England*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1955. Pp. xv, 565. \$5.50. Textbook.
- SMITH, THELMA M., and MINER, WARD L. *Transatlantic Migration: The Contemporary American Novel in France*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 264. \$4.50.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A. *Ancient Education*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xii, 309. \$3.75.
- SOBRINHO, TH. POMPEU. *Pré-História Cearense*. História do Ceará, Monografia no. 3, tomo 1. Ceará, Brazil: Instituto do Ceará. 1955. Pp. xi, 153.
- SONNICHSEN, C. L., and MORRISON, WILLIAM V. *Alias Billy the Kid*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 136. \$4.00.
- SPENER, PHILIPP JACOB. *Pia Desideria*. Ed. by Kurt Aland. Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 170. 2d ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1955. Pp. iv, 91. DM 4.80.
- SRIVASTAVA, G. P. *History of Indian Pharmacy*, Vol. I. 2d ed. Foreword by George Urdang. Calcutta: Pindars. 1954. Pp. xvi, 276. \$2.50.
- STOETZEL, JEAN. *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-War Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press for UNESCO. 1955. Pp. 334. \$4.00.
- STONE, SAMUEL GAILLARD. *The Dulles Family in South Carolina*. A Keepsake Published on the Occasion of a Commencement Address by the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State at the University of South Carolina, Monday, the sixth of June, 1955. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. 14; 29 plates.
- STRAKER, ROBERT L. *The Unseen Harvest: Horace Mann and Antioch College*. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. 1955. Pp. 39.
- SUELFLOW, AUGUST R. *The Heart of Missouri: A History of the Western District of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, 1854-1954*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1954. Pp. xiv, 226. \$2.00.
- SWARTHOUT, JOHN M., and BARTLEY, ERNEST R. *Principles and Problems of American National Government*. 2d ed; New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 852. \$6.25. Textbook.
- THOMSON, DAVID. *La démocratie en France: la Troisième République*. Traduit de l'anglais par Maurice Beerblock. Paris: Nizet. 1955. Pp. 267. See rev. of English ed. (1946), *AHR*, LII (April, 1947), 505.
- TINKCOM, HARRY M. and MARGARET B.; SIMON, GRANT MILES. *Historic Germantown: From The Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century, A Survey of the German Township*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. XXXIX. Philadelphia: the Society. 1955. Pp. vii, 154. \$5.00.
- Tratados internacionales*. Tomo I, *Periodo colonial, Republica federal de Centro America y tratados bilaterales con Costa Rica*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Secretaría de relaciones exteriores. 1954. Pp. 526.
- TRIETSCH, JAMES H. *The Printer and the Prince: A Study of the Influence of Horace Greeley upon Abraham Lincoln as Candidate and President*. New York: Exposition Press. 1955. Pp. 332. \$6.00.
- UMBLE, JOHN SYLVANUS. *Goshen College, 1894-1954: A Venture in Christian Higher Education*. Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College. 1955. Pp. xvi, 284. \$3.00.

- United Nations Publications, 1945-1955: A Complete Catalogue.* New York: U.N. Department of Public Information; distrib. by Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 271. 50 cents.
- VAN DOREN, MARK (ed.). *Travels of William Bartram.* New York: Dover Publications. 1955. Pp. 414. Cloth \$3.95, paper \$1.95.
- VAN STEENBERGHEN, FERNAND. *Aristotle in the West: The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism.* Trans. by Leonard Johnston. Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts. 1955. Pp. 244. \$2.00, 100 B. fr.
- VISTEL, ALBAN. *Héritage spirituel de la Résistance.* Lyon: Editions L.U.G. 1955. Pp. 195. 350 fr.
- WACHTEL, HENRY I., (ed.). *Security for All and Free Enterprise: A Summary of the Social Philosophy of Josef Popper-Lynkeus.* Introd. by Albert Einstein. New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xii, 162. \$3.00.
- WILBER, DONALD N. *Iran: Past and Present.* 3d ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 276. \$4.00.
- WILSON, Sir ARNOLD T. *The Persian Gulf: An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* 2d impression. London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan. 1954, 1955. Pp. xiii, 327. \$5.75. See rev. of 1928 ed., *AHR*, XXXIV (April, 1929), 560.
- WILSON, HAROLD F., in collab. with the Pitman History Committee. *Cottagers and Commuters: A History of Pitman, New Jersey.* Pitman, N. J.: Borough of Pitman. 1955. Pp. xvii, 231.
- WOJCICKA, JANINA, (comp.). *Polish Abbreviations: A Selective List.* Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, Reference Department, Slavic and East European Division. 1955. Pp. 122. 90 cents.
- WOODWARD, ISAAH ALFONSO. *West Virginia and Its Struggle for Statehood, 1861-1863.* Baltimore: Wolf Publishing Co. 1954. Pp. 44. \$1.50.
- WUST, KLAUS G. *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland.* Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore. 1955. Pp. 149. \$3.00.

* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the Association will be held this year December 28-30 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C.

The Association from time to time hears of files of the *Review* which can be obtained by gift or by purchase. At the same time the Association is often asked to supply copies of the *Review* no longer in print. Limited space prevents the publishing of this information in the *Review*. But the Association headquarters will attempt to see that the information is made available if those wishing to give or sell, receive or buy "runs" of the *Review* will notify this office. Please note, however, that we cannot handle requests for individual back issues, which are sold by the Macmillan Company. Owing to sales beyond expectation the following recent issues are out of print: July and October, 1954, and January, 1955. The *Review* would like to hear from members wishing to dispose of these issues.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received about 800 papers of the Burlingame family as a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Roger Burlingame. The nucleus relates to the Hon. Anson Burlingame (1820-70) as minister to China under President Lincoln, and to the Burlingame mission and convention of 1868. Letters also reflect his undergraduate days in the Detroit branch of the University of Michigan, his progress through Harvard Law School, his practice before the Massachusetts bar, and his election to the national House of Representatives, where he served three terms. Papers of his son, Edward Livermore Burlingame (1848-1922), include those for the period when he served as editor of *Scribner's Magazine* from its beginning in 1887 to 1912. In addition, the collection contains collateral materials which highlight events in the lives of father and son, including transcripts of letters written by Jane Cornelia Livermore (Mrs. Anson) Burlingame between 1862 and 1870.

The papers of Douglas Southall Freeman have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Freeman. They number more than 50,000 pieces and include personal and professional correspondence from the 1930's through 1952, together with a few early family letters and papers, diary material, and drafts (some holograph) of articles, lectures, and chapters of Dr. Freeman's published works. The correspondence reflects not only his historical and biographical interests but also his long-time association with Columbia University as professor of journalism and with the Army War College as lecturer; and his service with such bodies as the editorial board of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, the Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Advisory Council of the Historical Division, War

Department. When the papers have been organized they will be available by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The papers of Otto S. Beyer (1886-1948), consulting engineer, economist, and specialist in labor-management relations, have been given to the Library by Mrs. Beyer. During Mr. Beyer's military service in World War I, he developed an effective program of union-management co-operation in Army arsenals. For some thirteen years thereafter, he served as consulting engineer both to unions and management of railway systems and industrial concerns. From 1933 to 1948 he held a number of advisory posts in the federal government. The Beyer papers (about 30,000) date from 1915 to 1948, with the greatest concentration occurring for the years 1929 to 1941. They include personal and professional correspondence, memorandums, reports, speeches, and articles.

A segment of the papers of a distinguished twentieth-century figure has been received by the Library. Judge Learned Hand has presented twenty-five volumes of manuscript notes kept while he was a U. S. District Judge of the Southern District of New York. Entitled "Minutes of Trials," they contain concise summaries of trials in criminal, civil, and admiralty courts presided over by Judge Hand from November, 1909, to October, 1924.

Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy has presented his diaries for the years from 1897, when he was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy, to 1952. The fifteen volumes contain personal notes made by Admiral Leahy for his own reference—factual accounts of events as they occurred and as they impressed him at the time; and they include original letters, photographs, and signed documents. The material antedating 1941 is available for reference use but not for publication; the later diaries may be studied only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The Library of Congress has recently issued *British Manuscripts Project: A Checklist of the Microfilms Prepared in England and Wales for the American Council of Learned Societies, 1941-1945*, compiled by Lester K. Born, co-ordinator of microreproduction projects in the Library of Congress. The original purpose of the microfilm project was two-fold: (1) to preserve from the hazards of warfare the content of valuable historical, scientific, and literary manuscripts in British repositories, and (2) to provide American scholars with important materials for research. The results of the project, 2,652 reels of microfilm containing nearly five million pages of manuscript, have been catalogued on cards at the University of Michigan Library, with copies in the Library of Congress. The purpose of the *Checklist* is to make more readily available, and in somewhat reduced form, the information contained in the card catalogue. Copies of the films are sold, at the cost of the positive prints, by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives in Washington an additional 117 reels of microfilms, containing approximately 100,000 pages, of documents from the files of the German Foreign Office for the period 1914-1919. This group of microfilms supplements a large collection on the First World War filmed by the German Documents Project and previously released to the National Archives by the Department of State. This latest group of films to be released was made under the auspices of St. Anthony's College, Oxford; German relations with Austria-Hungary and the Balkans are particularly well represented in the collection. A further group of films, for the years 1914-1919, made under the auspices of the University of California (see *AHR*, July, 1955, p. 1026), is also being obtained for eventual deposit at the National Archives. The National Archives will then have a complete set of the films made of German Foreign Office files relating to the First World War, amounting to several hundred thousand pages.

The National Archives has recently issued two more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 83, *Records of the Extension Service*, compiled by Virgil E. Baugh, and No. 84, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Acts of Executive Agencies beyond the Scope of Their Authority, 1943-46*, compiled by George P. Perros.

Plans have been completed to collect, edit, and publish the writings of Alexander Hamilton. Columbia University has undertaken the project and will have the co-operation of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Commission and the National Historical Publications Commission. Harold Syrett, professor of history at Columbia, is the executive editor; the editorial board includes John A. Krout, chairman, Henry Steele Commager, Joseph Dorfman, Carter Goodrich, Louis M. Hacker, Dumas Malone, Richard B. Morris, Allan Nevins, and Robert Livingston Schuyler. The compilation will require several years of research and writing and will be published in ten volumes by the Columbia University Press. The project will be aided by recent grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and Time, Inc.

For the purpose of microfilming the material in the manuscripts collection of the Vatican Library the Knights of Columbus in collaboration with St. Louis University have established the Knights of Columbus Foundation for the Preservation of Historic Documents at the Vatican Library, with headquarters at 221 North Grand, St. Louis 3, Missouri. The material is estimated to run to about one million feet of film, about 760,000 feet of which are now available and in use at the foundation's depository. The microfilming is expected to be finished this year. The material, together with a reproduction of the Vatican's card catalogue of the manuscripts, is available for use at the depository by any qualified scholar. It is not available for loan under any conditions.

Microfilm files have been compiled of the two Russian newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, from March 18, 1917, and February 28, 1917, respectively, through June, 1938. This work began late in 1948 under the auspices of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University and in 1950 was transferred to the Newspaper Microfilm Project of the Harvard College Library, which has been filming these papers currently from July 1, 1938, to date. Positive copies of the microfilms are available to scholars and libraries at cost. Those interested in any part of the film should write the Newspaper Microfilm Project of the Harvard College Library.

The basic collection of diplomatic and epistolary documents concerning the history of Bohemia in the Middle Ages, known under the title *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, has been recently supplemented by two volumes or parts of volumes. This work was undertaken by the late Czech historian Bedřich Mendl and carried on by Miss M. Linhartová. Volume VI, part 5, contains the summaries of public papers from 1357 to 1358, and Volume VII, part 1, covers the following period, from 1358 to 1359. Part 4 of Volume VI will contain the indexes. Both of the volumes were published in 1954 by the National Printing Office and the Czech Academy in Prague. Thus the collection of *Regesta*, begun in 1855 with Volume I, published by K. J. Erben, and continued with Volume II, published in 1882 by Joseph Elmer, has been extended to the reign of Charles IV, an important period of Bohemia's history. It may be noted that the most recent collection of public papers, which contains the full text of documents and was published by Gustav Friedrich under the title *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, ceased because of the editor's death, with part 1 of Volume II (to 1238) so that the following 120 years can be studied only with the aid of the *Regesta*. Both the *Regesta* and the *Codex* are published in Latin.

Historical Abstracts, 1775-1945: A Quarterly Covering the World's Periodical Literature made its first appearance with a March, 1955, issue. The editor is Eric H. Boehm, c/o Historisches Seminar, Universität Wien, Vienna 1, Austria, and the publication office is at 640 West 153d Street, New York 31. The first issue contains 989 abstracts, in English, arranged in chronological periods subdivided by subjects; detailed instructions for abstractors; notes and news of historical meetings; information about world historical periodicals; a list of the periodicals covered; and subject and author indexes of the abstracts. Individual subscriptions to *Historical Abstracts* are \$15.00 per year (institutions with an annual book purchase fund of less than \$10,000 pay \$15.00, those with over \$10,000 pay \$25.00). *H. A. Bulletin*, a companion publication appearing quarterly with *Historical Abstracts*, contains a selection of the abstracts, the news items, and the full index of each issue. It is designed for individual use in conjunction with library copies of *Historical Abstracts*. Subscriptions to the *Bulletin* are: institutional \$5.00, regular (individual) \$3.00, student \$2.00.

A new periodical, the *World Affairs Quarterly*, will succeed the *World Affairs Interpreter*. Published under the auspices of the School of International Relations of the University of Southern California, the journal will contain articles and book reviews in the broad fields of international affairs, including articles of solid historical content. The managing editor is Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California, and the two historians on the six-man board of editors are Norman A. Graebner of Iowa State College and Frederick Soward of the University of British Columbia.

The American Forest History Foundation, a special project of the Minnesota Historical Society since 1947, has been given new status as an independent, non-profit corporation known as the Forest History Foundation, Inc. It will "collect, preserve, and disseminate the history of the North American forests and all forest-related activities" and "publish books, pamphlets, and monographs on forest history."

The Rockefeller Foundation has supplemented earlier grants with an appropriation of \$55,000, available during a five-year period, to the Italian Institute of Historical Studies. The institute, established in 1946 by Benedetto Croce, has become one of the major centers for the training of Italian historians. The supplementary funds will be used for fellowships to foreign students, travel expenses connected with research, and the expansion of library resources. Other recent grants by the Rockefeller Foundation include a grant to Lehigh University for the completion of the remaining volumes of Professor Lawrence H. Gipson's study of the history of the British Empire before the American Revolution; a grant to the University of Chicago for research in American historiography by Eric McKittrick and Stanley Elkins; and a grant to Bryn Mawr College to enable Professor Felix Gilbert to complete his research on the origins of political realism in sixteenth-century Italy.

Duke University has received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to promote research in the political economy and history of the British Commonwealth.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded fellowships to the following historians: *Faculty Research Fellowship*: James Russell Major, Emory University, for research on the French Estates General. *Research Training Fellowships*: Loren Baritz, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Wisconsin, for further training in industrial psychology and sociology, in preparation for research on social science and American industry, 1880-1950; Allan G. Bogue, assistant professor of history, State University of Iowa, for training in rural sociology and statistics; Daniel H. Calhoun, Ph.D. candidate in history, Johns Hopkins University, for study of sociology and research on the social role of the civil engineer in the United States,

1790-1867; Adolf G. Korman, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Wisconsin, for research on the role of industry in the acculturation of immigrants. *Grants-in-aid*: Kenneth K. Bailey, New Mexico Military Institute, for study of the significance of religious fundamentalism in the South; Violet Barbour, Vassar College, for research in England on the influence of merchants on English commercial policies, 1660-1696; Richard Bardolph, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, for study of the organization and administration of North Carolina troops in the Civil War; James L. Bates, University of Illinois, for research on naval petroleum reserves and United States conservation policy, 1909-1930; Rushton Coulborn, Atlanta University, for research on the comparative cultural history of ancient civilizations; David L. Dowd, University of Florida, for research in France on the roles of artists during the French Revolution; Charles H. George and Catherine George, University of Rochester, for research in England on social theories of English preachers, 1603-1640 (Alternate); Norman A. Graebner, Iowa State College, for research on political and economic conditions during James K. Polk's presidency; Charles Jelavich, University of California, Berkeley, for research on Yugoslav nationalism; Arthur J. Marder, University of Hawaii, for research on British sea power as reflected in the letters of Admiral Lord Fisher (Alternate); David H. Pinkney, University of Missouri, for research in France on the growth and reconstruction of Paris during the Second Empire; John B. Rae, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research on the role of engineers as business leaders in American industry; Walter C. Richardson, Louisiana State University, for research in England on the history of the Court of Augmentations; Charles R. Ritcheson, Kenyon College, for research in the United States and England on the quest for an Anglo-American rapprochement, 1781-1795; Howard Robinson, Oberlin College, for research in New Zealand on British overseas postal communications; A. William Salomone, New York University, for research in Italy on Italian social, economic, and cultural history; John L. Snell, Tulane University, for research on the origins of the first German republic; Robert Walcott, Jr., College of Wooster, for research on the London merchant class in the seventeenth century; Edward F. Willis, Jersey City Junior College, for research on Herbert Hoover and the relief of Germany, 1918-1919.

The Ford Foundation recently awarded three groups of fellowships for study and research: sixty-four for Asia and the Near East, fifty-four for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and fourteen for Africa. These fellowships provide for up to eighteen months' postgraduate work in the United States or abroad on the cultures, histories, and current problems of these areas; they are awarded to college seniors, graduate students in the social sciences and humanities, and persons of demonstrated ability in the professions. Among the awards are the following names in history: *Asia and the Near East*: Paul E. Callahan, modern Chinese intellectual history; Richard L. Chambers, history, economics, and culture of the Near East, with emphasis on Turkey; Cecil E. Cody, modern Japanese history;

Scott R. deKins, intellectual history of China; Judy Feldman, modern Chinese history; Donald G. Gillin, Chinese language and history; Jerome B. Grieder, Chinese language and history; Norman Itzkowitz, Ottoman-Arab relations; Marius B. Jansen, career and thought of Sakamoto Ryuma; Arnold Koslow, philosophy and history of scientific thought in the Far East; Marlene J. Mayo, history of East Asia; Edmund B. Ord, history of China; Walter B. Smith, Near East, particularly Turkey; Philip H. Stoddard, the Young Turks, 1908-1914; Gilbert D. Totten, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Richard B. Winder, history of Syria. *Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*: Zdenek V. David, modern Russian history; Horace W. Dewey, Russian law from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century; Keith A. Hitchins, growth of national consciousness among the Rumanians of Transylvania in the nineteenth century; Ivo J. Lederer, formation of the Yugoslav state during World War I; Robert G. Livingston, Croat peasant movement, 1918-1929; Donald M. Lowe, Stalin-Trotsky controversy over the Chinese revolution; Michael M. Luther, nationality problems in the Soviet Union; David Mackenzie, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Serbia during the Balkan crisis of 1875-1878; George E. Perry, Soviet-Balkan relations during and after World War II; Walter McK. Pintner, Russian economic history; Ivan Pluhar, federalism in Central Europe; George F. Putnam, Russian intellectual history; Francis B. Randall, Russian Socialist-Revolutionary party of the late nineteenth century; Alfred J. Rieber, interrelations between Soviet foreign policy and the tactics of the French Communist party, 1944-1947. *Africa*: John S. Galbraith, British-South African conflict over the status of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland; Robert G. Gregory, historical study of the Mau Mau problem in the Kenya Colony in East Africa.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has awarded its 1954 prize for the best book in the field of early American history to Gerald Stourzh of the University of Chicago for his volume on *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 1954).

The American Military Institute has given the 1954 Moncado Book Fund Award to Otis A. Singletary of the University of Texas department of history for his manuscript "The Negro Militia Movement during Radical Reconstruction." The award is given biennially for an unpublished manuscript on any aspect of United States military, including naval and air, history.

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill on April 29-30, 1955. Professor Albert C. Baugh of the University of Pennsylvania, vice-president of the Academy, presided in the absence of President Austin P. Evans. The following officers were elected for three years: Second Vice-President, Albert Croll Baugh, professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania; Third Vice-President, David K. Bjork, professor of history at the University of California (Los Angeles); Treasurer, John

Nicholas Brown of Providence, Rhode Island; Councillors, Phyllis W. G. Gordan (Mrs. John D. Gordan) of New York, Harry H. Hilberry, professor of art at Syracuse University, Theodor E. Mommsen, professor of medieval history at Cornell University, and John C. Pope, professor of English at Yale University. Three Fellows were elected: Willi Apel, professor of music at Indiana University; Gaines Post, professor of medieval history at the University of Wisconsin; and Taylor Starck, professor of German at Harvard University. Four Corresponding Fellows were elected: Sigurdur Nordal (Iceland), Albert Hugh Smith (Great Britain), Pietro Toesca (Italy), and Arthur D. Waley (Great Britain). The Haskins Medal was awarded to George H. Forsyth, Jr., professor of art at the University of Michigan, for his book, *The Church of St. Martin at Angers: The Architectural History of the Site from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution*. The papers included several of interest to historians: "Executive Justice and the Rule of Law: Some Reflections on the Thirteenth Century," by Professor George L. Haskins of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; "Primitivism in Saxo Grammaticus," by Professor Kemp Malone of the Johns Hopkins University; "Some Methodological Problems concerning the History of Canon Law," by Professor Stephan Kuttner of the Catholic University of America, and "A Mediaeval Commentary on the Rhetorica ad Herennium," by Professor Harry Caplan of Cornell University. At the subscription dinner for members and guests, held at the Carolina Inn, the speakers were the provost of the University of North Carolina, Dr. James H. Purks, Jr., and Dean Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University, whose subject was "Some Observations on Mediaeval History and Historians."

The twenty-eighth Anglo-American Conference was held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, on July 7-9. The papers included an address at the general meeting on "Aristotle and the American Indians" by Dr. Lewis Hanke. It was decided not to hold the next plenary conference until 1957, so as to leave a gap of two years between it and the International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Rome this year. The dates for the ordinary Anglo-American Conference next year were fixed for July 12, 13, and 14, 1956. Scholars from the United States and Canada who expect to be in England at that time are asked to write for particulars to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

On April 1 and 2 an informal conference on French history was held at Ithaca, New York. Papers were read by Vincent Confer, Syracuse University; Jacques Godechot, Toulouse University; Beatrice F. Hyslop, Hunter College (for Gilbert Chinard, Princeton); Frances Childs, Brooklyn College; Father Joseph Moody, Cathedral College; Robert Valeur, French Embassy; Roger Vauris, French Press and Information Service, and Mrs. Jean Joughin. Some forty attended, coming from as far as Pullman, Washington, and Gainesville, Florida. It was decided to hold a similar meeting in 1956 and a committee, Lynn Case, chairman, was se-

lected to make plans. The question of forming a continuing organization was raised and left open for a discussion at the next meeting.

At the spring Upper Midwest History Conference held at Hamline University on May 9, 1955, Professor John Wolf of the University of Minnesota read a paper on "The Education and Training of a King." Comments on the paper were made by Professor Harold Hagg of Bemidji State Teachers College and Professor W. L. Freudenthal of the College of St. Theresa. Presiding officer was Professor Ernest Osgood of the University of Minnesota.

On November 18-19, 1955, the department of history at Loyola University is sponsoring a co-operative appraisal of Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*. Among the scholars who will read papers at the symposium are William H. McNeill, University of Chicago, "Some Basic Assumptions of Toynbee's *Study of History*"; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Catholic University of America, "Toynbee and the Tradition of Universal History"; David M. Robinson, University of Mississippi, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Greco-Roman World"; Eric Voegelin, Louisiana State University, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to Universal States"; Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., Berkeley Divinity School, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to Universal Churches"; William F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Origin, Growth, Breakdown, and Disintegration of Civilizations"; Hans Kohn, College of the City of New York, "Toynbee's Approach to the History of Russia"; Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., St. John's University, "Toynbee's Approach to the History and Character of the United States"; and Oscar Halecki, Fordham University, "The Validity of Toynbee's Conception of the Prospects of Western Civilization." The symposium will be open to all interested persons. Those wishing further details may address Professor Edward Gargan, Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago 26, Illinois.

The Polish historical journal *Przegląd Historyczny* has recently published a critical article on the *American Historical Review*.¹ In the interests of freedom in scholarship, excerpts from this article are printed below. The *Review* agrees with three of the opinions expressed. The *Review* does not follow the Marxian line, it does publish a January number, and it, unfortunately, does not receive enough articles on historical happenings before "the last few decades."

The present report is based on the issues of the *American Historical Review* from 1946 to 1954. The different subject titles of these issues permit the evaluation of the main tendencies in American historiography. . . .

In spite of the fact that the *American Historical Review* does not devote special interest to any particular historical period, a great majority of the articles concern themselves with the last few decades. Articles about earlier periods occur less fre-

¹ Julia Tazbirowa, "The American Historical Review . . . 1946-1954," *Przegląd Historyczny* (Warsaw), XLVI (1955), nos. 1-2, pp. 256-62. The article was translated for the *American Historical Review* by Mrs. Janina Wojcicka, Polish bibliographer in the Slavic and East European Division of the Library of Congress.

quently. Judging from the book reviews of the *American Historical Review*, this distribution of space is typical of American historiography as a whole. The majority of the books reviewed in the *American Historical Review* dealing with periods prior to the middle of the nineteenth century are, according to the reviews, works by European historians. . . .

This material permits a fairly accurate analysis of the tendencies, achievements, and value of imperialistic American historiography. It enables one to show that American historiography does not refrain from theoretical justifications of concrete moves of United States political policy. Lacking evolutionary perspectives, it is unable to form a true theory explaining the laws governing the functioning of human society. Nor is it capable of producing a plausible theory on the subject. One can say that bourgeois historiography in this day of imperialism has at hand carefully worked out methods of research. It also has among its achievement several discussions on the topic of creating a historical style of writing. But, it is unable to discover any laws whatsoever governing human society, and, thus, at the same time to understand the past that it describes. If one completely disregards Marxist scientific method and the historical science based on it, then all attempts to formulate scientific laws governing historical development are from the very beginning doomed to failure.

Upon serious consideration of the issues of the *American Historical Review* over the postwar years (1946-1954), we may state that we find it backward in all fields of historical science. The introductory article of January, 1949, in accordance with the customary rules of the periodical, indicates the research to be conducted during the coming year. This article portrays a purely idealistic concept of historical interpretation. The author of this article, at that time the president of the American Historical Association, Kenneth Scott Latourette, presents under the characteristic title, "The Christian Understanding of History," a concept of history purely based on Christian faith. He demands the acceptance as fact of the supernatural in Biblical history. The author sees the direct influence of divine guidance on the course of events, which he interprets as various phases of the realization of the divine kingdom on earth. It truly is difficult to discover scientific laws, if it is known in advance that divine providence is the motor driving history. Less than a year later (Vol. LV, no. 1), Leo Gershoy gives a different interpretation of history. Reviewing Carl Becker's work, the author inclines to agree with his concept that the sole source of progress is power which "has often been destructive and will be so again, but without it there can be no progress; even if there will be no more progress—the power will remain" [retranslated from the Polish; see LV, no. 1, p. 23]. Becker's book, containing a detailed explanation of his theory, is based on the analysis of specially prepared historical material. It is not an accident that this book is referred to several times during this period [1946-1954]. American foreign policy, preaching the necessity of action "from a position based on force" needed only a theoretical support that would justify such a position. Becker's work well fulfills these requirements. . . .

Slightly different theories are pronounced by S. E. Morison in the introductory article of January, 1951 (Vol. LVI, no. 2). Morison supposes that objectivity is possible in periods long removed from our times. The historian, not personally involved in these problems, looks at the period with the historian's perspective. This enables him to create a picture that agrees with reality. The author does not see, however, that other theories expressed in the same article undermine the correctness of the one mentioned above. Particularly subversive are the arguments on the question of the historical perspective. . . .

From the above mentioned arguments it follows that imperialistic historical

science finds itself in a deep quagmire. Its positive program consists of antiscientific, pseudo-philosophical historiographical concepts, whose political content can be discovered without great effort. The majority of the theories point to the fact that Western historiography is quite helpless when faced with the problem of forming historical styles of writing. . . .

A great part is played by the theory about the superiority of the so-called Atlantic culture over all the others. Connected with this is the feeling of superiority toward other nations. Already the introductory article by Carlton J. H. Hayes of January, 1946 (Vol. LI, no. 2, p. 216) shows that the mission of the United States is to maintain the boundaries of this culture. The author identifies the Atlantic culture with the culture of the "true Europe," i.e., western Europe which contrasts with all other human cultures as the one possessing unequalled virtues. A year later (Vol. LII, no. 2, pp. 231-46), Sidney B. Fay in the article "The Idea of Progress" states that Western civilization is one continuous series of triumphs and successes in all fields and in connection with this is distinguished by a singular durability. While other cultures can fall and die, this one shows a particular vitality and an ability of enduring (p. 246: "Other civilizations may have declined and died, but Western civilization has shown a peculiar vitality. . .").

Membership in such a great and unique sphere of culture carries with it very great obligations. Historians play a special role in these matters. It is their duty to prepare society morally and psychologically for the great tasks that await it. The above mentioned S. E. Morison clearly feels this responsibility. He sharply condemns all actions for the protection of peace that are undertaken by certain American scholars including historians. Claiming that this activity has no effect on the actual removal of the danger of war, he accuses them of demobilizing society and discouraging it from any wars (Vol. LVI, no. 2, pp. 266-67). . . . His colleagues go even further. In January, 1950, Conyers Read points clearly to the American enemies in the great mission of rebuilding the world. He states that peace propaganda was the main cause of the fall of France in 1940 (Vol. LV, no. 2, p. 282) and expresses fear that the Anglo-American people may be influenced by similar arguments. In reference to antiwar propaganda, he accuses the Communists and attempts to weaken their progressive significance in the eyes of his readers. . . .

To the other questions of international policy, the *American Historical Review* also presents a "historical" explanation. In the year 1954, there appeared an article by R. N. Current, glorifying Japanese expansion in China between the two wars. It views the annexations approvingly. Here he is speaking mainly about Manchuria (Vol. LIX, no. 3, pp. 513-42).

The political tendencies described occur also in the articles about former periods. This occurs both in the choice of topics and in the light in which certain questions are viewed. Thus, for example, R. H. Luthin in an article "Some Demagogues in American History" (Vol. LVII, no. 1, pp. 22-46) writes in a disrespectful and contemptuous manner about the labor leaders, accusing them of a lack of public service and constructive program ("short on public service and constructive thinking"). . . . Another author, Richard B. Morris, praises the energy shown by the state and federal governments, which in 1837 with the help of the army suppressed the strike of the Irish workers in the state of Maryland (Vol. LV, no. 1, pp. 54-68). In this strike, an expression of protest of the most exploited group of people besides Negroes, he sees only an expression of an anarchy that cannot be tolerated. . . .

In the field of the internal history of the United States, special attention must be given to the articles devoted to the Negro question. They all point to the superior racial relation of the white masters toward their black co-citizens. . . .

K. M. Stamp's article (Vol. LVII, no. 3, pp. 613-24) . . . shows that after all slavery was not at all indispensable. Without slavery it is also possible, as it appears, to exploit Negroes on plantations. Skipping over the lack of historical truth in the whole argument, one must be struck by the cynicism with which the author presents the exploitation of the Negro laborers as a completely natural thing. . . .

The above mentioned articles show clearly that their authors strive only to a minimal degree for historical truth. Mainly they seek the justification of present political theories. The above picture cannot be changed by the serious works in the Renaissance by Ferguson and Lopez (Vol. LIX, no. 1, pp. 1-18, and Vol. LVII, no. 1, pp. 1-21) or B. C. Shafer's article against racial differences, "Men Are More Alike" (Vol. LVII, no. 3, pp. 593-612), or correct theoretical considerations by R. F. Nichols postulating a connection between research on religion, ethics, and ideology with research on present society ("Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking," Vol. LIV, no. 1, pp. 78-89).

Over all the postwar years, we do not find a single article in the *American Historical Review* concerning itself with what is happening or what did happen behind the "Iron Curtain"; namely, in the countries in the camp of peace and socialism. This does not mean, however, that no one from among the representatives of American historiography concerns himself with these questions. Quite to the contrary, judging from the announcements, there are quite a few books about the Soviet Union and the countries of the peoples' democracy. Apparently their level is so low, that the *American Historical Review* cannot devote to them more space than just a bibliographical mention. . . .

The above data show clearly the ideological and political line of this superior American periodical. Very characteristic also are the statements on the topic of educating and developing a young cadre of historians. The evolution of these ideas are especially noteworthy. In 1948 in the above mentioned article "Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking" Nichols expresses regret that too great a stress is placed on memory work in educating historians, and not enough on preparing them for independent thinking ("There has been much emphasis on work, less on thought," Vol. LIV, no. 1, p. 85). Still, a year later, Conyers Read states clearly that if historical publications are to find their way into the hands of youth they must conform to certain standards (Vol. LV, no. 2, p. 282). . . .

A much more cynical outlook is expressed by John Higham in the article "The Rise of American Intellectual History," which postulates creating a new synthesis for students. He is of the opinion that when a re-evaluation of such concepts as democracy, nationalism, or class-consciousness is taking place, it is necessary to create historiography which would help the young seeker of knowledge "better to understand the American mind" ("deeper understanding of the 'American mind,'" Vol. LVI, no. 3, p. 471).

The last step in the process of creating a reactionary attitude toward the problem of educating a historical cadre is the program-outlining article of January, 1954. The author, Louis Gottschalk, gives concrete directions for building an educational program for youth. Above all, he states that one must break away from nineteenth-century historiography because it is patterned on the "outdated" traditions of the French Revolution (Vol. LIX, no. 2, p. 273). In place of the former patterns, he proposes basing oneself on the works of such bourgeois historians and ideologists as Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee, who represent purely imperialistic historiography (cf. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* LX, no. 1). He clearly states that the task of the teacher of the methodology of history is to teach certain elements of historical style (Vol. LIX, no. 2, p. 282). . . .

With this background, the following words spoken at the beginning of 1953 by J. G. Randall (Vol. LVIII, no. 2, p. 249), appear as a great lie: "What we [historians] have in common is a devotion to history, a conviction of its importance, and a loyalty to the ideal of freedom in historical investigation." Any comparison of these words with the picture presented above of the scientific activity of the *American Historical Review* proves how deeply deceit has entered into imperialistic historiography.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Chester A. Bain is now a member of the faculty of American University, as research associate for a foundation affiliated with the university, the Human Relations Area Files, Washington branch.

Donald C. McKay of Harvard University is serving as visiting professor of modern European history in Amherst College during the current academic year.

Marshall Dill, Jr., formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has joined the faculty of Bard College.

Herbert Moller has been promoted to associate professor of history in Boston University.

Butler University announces the appointment of George M. Waller, formerly chief of the American History Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, as professor and head of the department of history and political science. David M. Silver has been promoted to professor of history, and Robert F. Erickson, formerly of the University of Illinois, has been appointed instructor of history.

Eugene N. Anderson, formerly of the University of Nebraska, has joined the staff of the University of California, Los Angeles, as professor of history. Harold Hyman, formerly of Earlham College, is serving as assistant professor of history at U.C.L.A. during the current academic year.

Frederick H. Jackson has resigned from the University of Illinois to accept a position on the staff of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Roy W. Curry has been promoted to assistant professor of history at Carnegie Institute of Technology.

¹ In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

At Colorado College Carrol Brown Malone has retired as chairman of the department of history, a position he has filled since 1930. He will continue to offer a course in Far Eastern history. Harvey Lewis Carter, professor of history since 1945, succeeds him as chairman. Lloyd Edson Worner, associate professor of history, has been named acting dean of the college. Bentley B. Gilbert, formerly of the University of Cincinnati, has been appointed assistant professor, and William L. Hochman, Paul I. Bernard, and Earland I. Carlson have been appointed instructors.

At Teachers College, Columbia University, David A. Shannon has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Edward T. James, formerly assistant professor of history and government at Mills College, has been appointed assistant editor of the new supplement of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (see *AHR*, April, 1955, p. 769).

John R. Alden, formerly of the University of Nebraska, has gone to Duke University as professor of history.

In the department of history of Emory University G. P. Cuttino has been promoted to professor and J. R. Major to associate professor. Charles A. LeGuin has been appointed instructor.

Mauro Calamandrei, a member of the academic faculty of the Juilliard School of Music, has been appointed the first "professore incaricato" of American history at the University of Florence for the year 1955-1956.

In the department of history of the University of Florida Rembert W. Patrick has resigned as head of the department to devote his time to teaching and research. Donald E. Worcester has been named chairman of the department, and Oscar Svarlien has been promoted to professor of history and political science, Lyle N. McAlister and Arthur W. Thompson to associate professors of history.

George A. Lensen, Victor S. Mamatey, and Benjamin F. Rogers, Jr., have been promoted to associate professorships of history in the Florida State University.

After twenty years of service Carl Mauelshagen has retired as professor emeritus from the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia. John A. Alexander has been promoted to professor of history, and John B. Oliver has been appointed assistant professor.

Lester J. Cappon, formerly editor of publications of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, has been elected director of the Institute.

Hans Kohn, professor of history in the City College of New York, is spending the fall of 1955 as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. In the spring of 1956 he will give a seminar in comparative American and European nationalism at Harvard.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky has been elected distinguished professor of history. He is on leave at the Huntington Library during the fall semester.

Gordon Griffiths, formerly of the University of California, Berkeley, has taken a position in the department of history of Lawrence College.

Kenneth L. Holmes has been appointed assistant professor of history at Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon.

C. W. Robbe has accepted a position in the department of history and political science at Lon Morris College, Jacksonville, Texas.

Walter C. Richardson has been appointed Boyd professor of history in Louisiana State University.

Robert Taylor has been promoted to associate professor of history in Marietta College.

The department of history of the University of Maryland announces the promotions of Horace S. Merrill to full professor and Donald C. Gordon to associate professor. Paul A. Carter, Michael McGiffert, J. Patrick White, and William Catton have been appointed instructors in American history.

Willis B. Glover, formerly of Southern Methodist University, has been appointed associate professor of history at Mercer University, and Francis M. Wilhoit has been appointed assistant professor.

Aubrey C. Land, formerly of Vanderbilt University, has been appointed professor of history in the University of Nebraska.

Benjamin Sacks has resigned as chairman of the department of history in the University of New Mexico, and William M. Dabney has been appointed acting chairman. Frank D. Reeve will be on sabbatical leave the first semester of 1955-1956 and John E. Longhurst the second.

Joseph Hendershot Park has retired as dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Science at New York University and as professor and chairman of the de-

partment of history in the Graduate School and chairman of the department of history in the University College of Arts and Science. He became dean emeritus on September 1. His successor in the last two positions is Bayrd Still, professor of history at the university.

G. W. McGinty, chairman of the department of social sciences in Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, has been elected president of the North Louisiana Historical Association.

The department of history of North Texas State College announces the promotions of Jack B. Scroggs to professor of history, W. Keith Eubank, Jr., and William T. Hagan to associate professors, and the appointment of Irby C. Nichols, Jr., as assistant professor.

Carlton J. H. Hayes will give a series of lectures for graduate students and college seniors at the University of Notre Dame in October. His general title will be "Uses and Abuses of History."

Raymond E. Lindgren, associate professor of history in Occidental College, has been appointed chairman of the department, effective July 1, 1955.

Anthony Lee Milnar has been appointed associate professor of history and political science at Ohio Northern University.

C. Stanley Urban of Park College, Missouri, is at Harvard University during the current academic year on a Ford Foundation grant. Peter J. Coleman, of St. John's College, Winnipege, will replace him for the year.

Robert Tree has been appointed instructor of history and political science in Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa.

At the University of Pennsylvania Kenneth M. Setton has been appointed Lea professor of medieval history, as well as director of libraries (*AHR*, July, 1955, p. 1034). Otakar Odlozilik, formerly of Columbia University, has been appointed professor of European history. Norman P. Zacour has been appointed instructor in history.

Richard L. Clark has been promoted to associate professor of history at George Pepperdine College, Los Angeles.

Susie M. Ames, for the last thirty-one years a member of the department of history at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, retired at the end of the last academic year.

William H. Masterson has been promoted to professor of history in the Rice Institute and Frank E. Vandiver has been appointed assistant professor.

At the University of South Dakota Cedric C. Cummins, professor of history, has assumed the duties of the chairmanship of the department. John W. Bohnstedt of the University of Minnesota has been appointed instructor in European history for the year. Monroe Billington, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has been appointed instructor in American history.

Robert D. Cross and Philip D. Curtin have been promoted to assistant professors of history in Swarthmore College.

The department of history in Temple University announces the promotions of Daniel M. Fisk to full professor, Lawrence Ealy and Harry M. Tinkcom to associate professors, and Edwin B. Bronner to assistant professor.

Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania, announces the appointment of Frederick M. Binder as dean of the college and associate professor of history.

The University of Washington announces the promotion of Donald W. Treadgold to associate professor of history and the appointment of Harry Woolf as assistant professor of history and of Harvey Mitchell and Otis Pease as acting assistant professors. Thomas J. Pressly, associate professor of history at the university, is spending the current academic year as a fellow of the Center for the Study of the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto, California.

George A. Frykman has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the State College of Washington.

Henry F. Schwarz has been named Elizabeth Hodder professor of history in Wellesley College.

John Hall Stewart has been named Henry Eldridge Bourne professor of history in Western Reserve University.

Paul Alexander Knaplund retired July 1 after forty-one years of teaching at the University of Wisconsin.

RECENT DEATHS

Professor Boris Mirkin-Guetzévitch, internationally known for his activity in comparative and international law, died in Paris, April 1, at the age of sixty-three. Of Russian origin, he received the doctorate and then taught law at the University

of Petrograd; he came to France in 1920 and became a French citizen in 1933. His life-long interest in the French Revolution and Declarations of the Rights of Man, and in comparative law, explain his manifold lecturing, founding and administering of institutes to further a knowledge of these fields. Member of historical and law associations in numerous countries, he was awarded honorary membership in several national academies, several honorary degrees, and was made chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1932 and officer in 1948. He directed numerous collective volumes and reviews, and was author, or collaborator with well-known authorities, of more than a dozen volumes and innumerable articles. Some works have appeared in German, Spanish, Italian, and even Japanese. M. Mirkine was a consultant of the social section of the Secretariat of the United Nations. When he came to the United States in 1941, he taught at the New School of Social Research, and was a founder and administrator of the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, now recognized as the French University of New York. He continued his manifold activities with organizations affiliated with those in Paris and lectured at numerous American universities. Since 1947, he spent part of each year here and part in Paris. A "self-starter" of untiring initiative, M. Mirkine will be missed by a wide circle of persons of many nationalities.

Otto Becker, professor emeritus at Kiel University, who taught modern history there between 1931 and 1953, died on April 17, three months before his seventieth birthday. He was a man of great moral strength during the Hitler period. The French Revolution and the periods of Bismarck, Wilhelm II, and the Weimar Republic were the fields of his special interest. His conviction that ignorance of the past is the greatest enemy of the present, made him a pioneer in offering courses on the most recent period of German history. As a result of his teaching for several years at a Japanese institution, he remained interested in the history of the Far East. Because of wartime conditions, his book, *Der Ferne Osten und das Schicksal Europas 1907-1918* (1940), which contains an important chapter on efforts to bring about a Russo-Japanese-German understanding during the First World War, has not yet received the attention and recognition it deserves. But it was the personality and the statesmanship of the founder of the German Empire to which most of his research and writing was devoted; an almost finished large manuscript of his *Bismarck* may be published posthumously. At the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday he was honored by a *Festschrift*, entitled *Geschichtliche Kräfte und Entscheidungen* (Wiesbaden, 1954).

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of my book, *Report from Hokkaido: The Remains of Russian Culture in Northern Japan* (April, 1955, p. 677), Mr. Paul E. Eckel impugns my observation that, at the time of Commodore Perry's arrival, "there were those in Japan who thought to entrust their country's defense to Russia," and asserts cate-

gorically that "in 1854 Japan had no thought of entrusting her defense to Russia, who at the time was losing the Crimean War to the English and French and could not defend her own position in the Pacific—let alone that of Japan."

Mr. Eckel's view is conventional, but it is not correct. Among the Japanese who expressed themselves in favor of making a treaty with Russia and warding off the United States, there were the coastal defense officer Egawa Tarozaemon and the aides to the governor of Nagasaki Oi Sahuro Nosuke, Baba Gorozaemon, and Shiraishi Tozahuro, not to mention the influential statesman Abe Masahiro. The Coastal Defense Officer Ishikawa Masahei suggested even that Japan grant Russia a trade monopoly in return for Russian protection against all other nations. (See Inobe Shigeo, *Ishin zenshi no kenkyu* [Tokyo, 1935].) Kawaji Toshiakira, who negotiated with Vice-Admiral Putiatin, the Russian plenipotentiary, actually told him on February 1, 1854, that "even when in the future we open amicable relations, because your country is a great country with adjacent boundaries to ours, we consider you as a defense against other countries." (*Bakumatsu gaiōku kankei monjo* [Series "C" of Tokyo University's *Dai-Nihon kō-monjo*, Tokyo, 1901-19], IV, 38-40; for further detail, see my book, *Russia's Japan Expedition of 1852 to 1855* [Gainesville, 1955].)

The fact that the Crimean War did not shatter Russian prestige in Japan—as Mr. Eckel contends—is explicitly brought out in the memoirs of C. Pemberton Hodgson, British Consul in Nagasaki and Hakodate (1858-1860). He reported:

It was at a private meeting of great men: the highest functionary asked me which is the greatest nation in the world (after Japan, it was understood)? I said that in my opinion there were five great nations, viz. France, the Germanic Confederation, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, and that Turkey, Sardinia, Spain, and Portugal were secondary powers.

Q. Russia is a first-rate power?

R. Certainly.

Q. France and Great Britain first-rate powers?

R. Certainly.

Q. Very good: Sardinia and Turkey are second rate powers?

R. Yes, but of great political importance.

Q. Are they great powers?

R. Yes, very useful ones.

Result. Then, by your own confession, you admit that two first-rate powers and two second-rate powers fought for two years against Russia, and you were obliged to go away—at any rate, that you were glad to go away; so Russia, who could conquer four great powers, must be a grand nation.

It was useless to discuss the question. I did my best; but the Japanese have still an idea that the Emperor of Russia is second only to the Tycoon of Yedo. [C. Pemberton Hodgson, *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859-1860* (London, 1861), pp. 308-309.]

Florida State University

GEORGE ALEXANDER LENSEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reviewer of *American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies, 1760-1835* (*AHR*, April, 1955, pp. 616-18) asks, in attacking my citations of sources: "Where is Jean Locquin's basic *La peinture d'histoire en France 1747 à 1785*, which relates West's work to European developments? Where are Edgar Wind's important

article on 'The Revolution of History Painting,' and Charles Mitchell's discussion of West's 'Death of Wolfe?'" All three publications are cited in my "Source References" (pp. 271, 272). The works by Locquin and Mitchell are also referred to in the main text (pp. 17, 32-33, 36) and thus the authors are listed in the index.

In his equally inaccurate summary of my book, the reviewer attributes to me statements contrary to my own clearly expressed conclusions, and criticizes me for not having proved ideas with which I disagree. According to him, for instance, I "confess" that the Americans under discussion "did not patronize portraitists as lavishly as their colonial forebears had done." In my chapter entitled "A Rage for Portraits," I pointed out that there was a wider market for portraiture than ever before.

I feel that an author should not argue with reviewers on matters of judgment, but that factual misrepresentations call for a published correction.

New York, N. Y.

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I very much regret the stricture in my review of James Flexner's *American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies*, in respect to his failure to cite three sources which he very clearly did cite. This oversight occurred because the indispensable Locquin does not appear in his "Bibliography of General Sources," while (even more astonishingly) the other two items are missing from the section on West in his "Bibliography Arranged by Artists." Under the circumstances, one hardly knows by what standards Mr. Flexner compiled his bibliography; but nevertheless my blunder was inexcusable and I apologize.

Mr. Flexner goes on to criticize my "equally inaccurate summary" of his book, substantiating his assertion by citing a single clause in a rather long discussion. He complains that the review reads "did *not* patronize portraitists as lavishly as their colonial forebears had done," whereas the review actually reads "*did* patronize. . . ." In this instance, it would seem that an apology should flow in the opposite direction.

Yale University

WILLIAM JORDY

Editor's Note

In the files of the Association is a statement by Professor (then editor of the *Review*) Robert Livingston Schuyler on the *Review's* publication policy for articles. This statement, repeated by the Committee of Ten headed by Professor John Hicks in 1939, bears repetition: "To publish only such articles as throw light upon what had been done before, or suggest new and fruitful fields of historical study and advance significant new historical interpretation."

This sums up present editorial policy. Acceptance for publication comes most often when sound research into primary resources brings changed or new interpretations and when the results of this research are couched in clear and precise English. At this time the *Review* particularly welcomes essays by specialists which attempt to answer for specific fields the questions, "Where have we been, where

are we now and what are the obstacles facing us?" The chances of acceptance for this or any kind of essay will be considerably enhanced if the author has constantly in mind the question, "Will the reader want to turn the page?"

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, Washington 25, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 6000.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor John Tate Lanning, Department of History, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (last award: December, 1954).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$140, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$7.50, students \$4.00. Life membership is \$150. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

For Second Semester Courses

• **WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

• By **JOSEPH R. STRAYER**. This masterly brief survey of the Middle Ages provides a stimulating review for use at the beginning of a modern history course. In five chapters it presents an interpretation of the rise and fall, the nature and contributions, of medieval civilization.

• "The most competent, the most thoughtful, the most readable short survey of the subject yet written."—G. P. Cuttino, Emory University.

• Large Octavo, 245 pages, \$2.50.

• **EUROPE SINCE 1914, Eighth Edition**

• By **F. LEE BENNS**. Through 7 editions, 29 printings, this outstanding text has maintained its enviable reputation for scholarship, objectivity, insight, completeness, and clarity. The new, Eighth Edition brings the narrative down to the spring of 1954.

• "An established and reputable text made more valuable by the addition of the late chapters bringing the story up to date."—Geoffrey Davies, University of British Columbia.

• 6 x 9 inches, 950 pages, \$5.50.

• **EUROPEAN HISTORY SINCE 1870, Fourth Edition**

• By **F. LEE BENNS**. Presenting a concise, comprehensive, unbiased account of European history as an integral part of world history, this book is brought completely up to date in its fourth edition.

• "This new edition of Professor Benns' standard text, as solid and reliable as ever for the political history of Europe in our time, is now further enhanced by its up-to-dateness and completeness both in substance and in bibliography."—A. William Salomone, New York University.

• Large Octavo, 1020 pages, \$6.00.

• **A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, Fifth Edition**

• By **THOMAS A. BAILEY**. The leader in its field since its publication 15 years ago, this standard text has been brought completely down to the present in the 1955 edition.

• "This new edition maintains the high standards which have made Bailey such an outstanding text."—Fred W. Wellborn, University of Maryland.

• Large Octavo, 969 pages, \$6.50.

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS

Publishers of THE NEW CENTURY CYCLOPEDIA OF NAMES

35 West 32nd Street, New York 1, N. Y.

Recent . . . Readable . . . Scholarly

Explorations in America Before Columbus

By HJALMAR R. HOLAND. Mr. Holand's present study is the final and summarizing presentation of all the evidence—historic, linguistic, archeological, and literary—that sheds light on Norse explorations in America before Columbus. Fully illustrated with maps and photographs. \$6.00

An Economic Survey of Communist China

By YUAN-LI WU. The most exhaustive survey of Communist China's economic resources yet to appear. It contains a complete analysis of Communist China's military and industrial potential. Illustrated with charts and maps. Orders on prepublication offer @ \$8.00 will be filled until October 15th. \$12.50

The United States and the Spanish Civil War

By F. JAY TAYLOR. Introduction by Claude G. Bowers. A well-documented study of American attitudes and participation, official and unofficial, in the Spanish Civil War. An objective study of an era that has been the subject of much controversy. *Ready in November.* \$5.00

Race and Reich: The Story of an Epoch

By JOSEPH TENENBAUM. The volume is a full-scale study of the German race theory, and its practical effects—political, economic, and military. This report on the racial madness of the Nazi era provides some vital clues to the German national character. \$7.50

The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd

By DUNBAR MAURY HINRICHS. Mr. Hinrichs' account of Kidd's last voyage raises

the question of whether Kidd was the victim of a miscarriage of justice. In writing the volume, the author visited at first hand many of the places and islands Captain Kidd visited, and travelled many of the waterways covered by the Captain's voyage. Illustrated. \$3.50

Courts of Injustice

By I. P. CALLISON. An historical and analytical survey of where justice fails in the state courts of America. The survey covers every one of the 48 states, reports on the remedial measures taken to correct these failures and finally compares the American system with Canadian, French, and English systems. More than 700 pages. *Ready in November.* \$6.00

Labor's Wage Policies in the Twentieth Century

By JAMES S. YOUTSLER. This volume examines organized labor's wage demands in the first half of the 20th century. It also includes an analysis of the recently negotiated Guaranteed Annual Wage (GAW). \$5.00

What Happened in Salem?

Edited by DAVID LEVIN. An exciting term paper project consisting of documents pertaining to the 17th-century witchcraft trials. \$1.50

Franz Joseph and Napoleon III (1852-1864)

A Study of Austro-French Relations

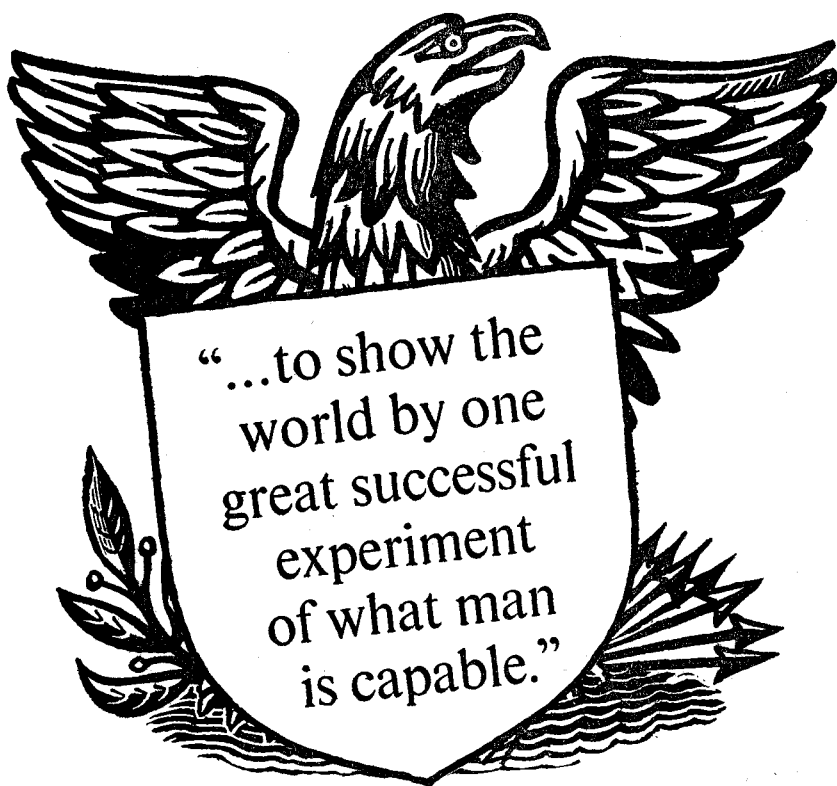
By CHARLES W. HALLBERG. While there are a number of excellent works dealing with various aspects of Austrian and French policies during the middle period of the 19th century, little has been done to set forth the relation of these policies to each other, which is the aim of the present study. *Ready in November.* \$5.00

BOOKMAN ASSOCIATES—TWAYNE PUBLISHERS

"The House where scholarly and specialized studies are always welcome"

31 Union Square West

New York 3



AMERICA AND EUROPE face each other across an ocean (and one might add, a language) which has been both a link and a barrier. The first colonies began as a transatlantic bridgehead of Europe. With political independence and the opening of the frontier, the colonial fringe became the Eastern seaboard of a new continent. It is in the interplay of these two themes in American history—the Atlantic and the continental—that Frank Thistlethwaite finds the key to the dualism of

American relations with Europe, to the ambivalence of American outlook, conscious of its links with the past, and at the same time determined “to show the world by one great successful experiment of what man is capable.”

The Great Experiment is the story of what has made America different and unique. It is told with an uncommon blend of scholarship, lucidity and style. For us who are living the great experiment, it offers particular rewards and excitement.

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

by Frank Thistlethwaite

\$5.00, at your bookseller's

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 32 E. 57th St., New York 22



**"The most solid of recent books
published on foreign policy."**

—RAYMOND MOLEY

"A massive contribution to 'revisionist' history."—WINFRED E. GARRISON

PERPETUAL WAR for PERPETUAL PEACE

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
AND ITS AFTERMATH

● The definitive revisionist treatment of the responsibility for the Second World War and American entry therein, and of the consequences of our involvement in the conflict. The conclusive answer to the defense of the Roosevelt-Hull foreign policy by Professors Langer and Gleason and Herbert Feis.

Edited by HARRY ELMER BARNES, author of *The Genesis of the World War*, with the collaboration of: WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN, PERCY L. GREAVES, JR., GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, GEORGE MORGENSTERN, WILLIAM L. NEUMANN, FREDERIC R. SANBORN, and CHARLES C. TANSILL

"The book remains an act of outstanding courage which, so far as I am concerned, sets the editor and his associates high on a civic pedestal . . . I cannot help nursing the hope that by some miraculous intervention the book will be listened to and will start a stream of criticism that will wash the 'court historians' out of their trenches. I hope the book will escape the doom of silence under which its enemies are probably at this moment conspiring to bury it."

—PROFESSOR FERDINAND SCHEVILL

"The reader who desires a succinct as well as authoritative revision of the distorted writing of American diplomatic history by New Deal advocates will find the present volume invaluable . . . Here is a book that should be in every public library and every school library in this country. The American people deserve the truth, and it should be the whole truth."—PROFESSOR KENNETH COLEGROVE

"If there is one book that should be read by those who want a straightforward

analysis of the official myths about the origins and aftermath of the Second World War, Professor Barnes has provided it. Here in a single volume is material that would otherwise have to be sifted from at least eleven separate works."

—JEANNE DANFORTH, *The Freeman*

"Compact and full of good things . . . the arguments remain simply unanswerable . . . The impeachment of the 'historical blackout' makes a first-class introduction not only to the volume but to the study of the entire *Kriegschuldfrage*."

—PROFESSOR THOMAS CALLANDER

"The revisionist case deserves to be heard, and we can learn from this statement of it . . . If the revisionists will turn their fire upon today's rapid drift toward the death of Western civilization, they may help us avoid the 'one more war' after which there would be nothing left worth arguing about."

—PROFESSOR D. F. FLEMING, *The Nation*

679 pages, indexed, \$6. At all book stores or postpaid from
THE CAXTON PRINTERS, LTD. Caldwell, Idaho



BOOKS IN RUSSIAN

Important Material on Modern Russian History

The Revolutionary Movement

- Victor Chernov—BEFORE THE STORM \$3.00
 Mark Vishniak—DUE THE PAST \$3.00
 Vladimir Zenzinov—LIVING MEMORIES \$3.00
 Reminiscences of three outstanding leaders of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.
 Nikolai Valentinoff—ENCOUNTERS WITH LENIN \$3.00

Russian Liberalism

- Basil Maklakoff—FROM THE RECOLLECTIONS \$3.00
 Michael Novikov—FROM MOSCOW TO NEW YORK \$3.00
 Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams—WAYS TOWARD FREEDOM \$3.00
 Personal accounts of three prominent Russian Liberals.
 Princess Olga Troubetskoy—PRINCE SERGE TROUBETSKOY \$2.25

The Imperial Regime

- Maria Bock—MY FATHER, PETER STOLYPIN \$2.75
 Anton Denikin—THE ROAD OF A RUSSIAN OFFICER \$2.75
 Grand Duke Gabriel of Russia—IN THE MARBLE PALACE \$3.00
 Father George Shavelsky—RECOLLECTIONS of the Last Head
 Chaplain of the Russian Army and Navy
 —2 volumes @ \$3.00

An unusually revealing account of the last three
 years of the Imperial regime written by a man
 who stood very close to the center of power.

Intellectual History

- George Fedotov—THE NEW CITY \$2.75
 Alexei Khomyakov—SELECTED WORKS \$3.00
 Vladimir Solovyov—THREE CONVERSATIONS \$2.25

* * *

Forthcoming

- The Memoirs of Paul Miliukov—in two volumes
 Boris Vycheslavzeff—THE PERMANENT IN RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHY

* * *

Write for catalogues and address all inquiries to

CHEKHOV PUBLISHING HOUSE

of the East European Fund, Inc.

387 Fourth Avenue
 New York 16, New York

DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOKS

10 titles selected for readers of the *American Historical Review*

THE OLD REGIME AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Alexis de Tocqueville. The classic study of the origins of the French Revolution by the author of *Democracy in America* in a new translation by Stuart Gilbert. 95¢

TO THE FINLAND STATION: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History.

By Edmund Wilson. The background of the socialist movement, the men and ideas behind the present crisis in our civilization—with a new chapter on the Stalinist area *appearing only in this edition*. \$1.25

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By G. M. Trevelyan. The major work of the greatest living English historian. Three volumes, each 85¢

THE EXPLORERS OF NORTH AMERICA, 1492-1806. By John Bartlett Brebner. The definitive account of the men who opened the American continent—from Columbus to Lewis and Clark. Maps, 400 pages. \$1.25

THE WANDERING SCHOLARS. By Helen Waddell. A classic and delightful introduction to the secular Latin poets of the Middle Ages. \$1.15

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND. By Basil Willey. A major contribution to the history of ideas in this age of conflict between medieval and Renaissance thought—tracing the influence of such figures as Bacon, Donne, Descartes, Milton, Hobbes, Locke and Wordsworth. 85¢

THE MIND OF THE SOUTH. By W. J. Cash. A penetrating analysis of the unique civilization of the American South—its philosophy, temperament and social customs—from the early settlers, through Southern romanticism, to the present industrial prosperity. 95¢

THE WANING OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By J. Huizinga. This study of the forms of life, thought, and art in France and the Netherlands is the classic history of the beginning of the Renaissance. 95¢

MEDIEVAL PEOPLE. By Eileen Power. A masterpiece of social history—a detailed picture of the Middle Ages as seen through the lives of six people who lived between the 9th and 15th centuries. 85¢

VICTORIAN ENGLAND: Portrait of an Age. By G. M. Young. The age of Dickens, Darwin, and Disraeli pictured in all its complexity, inconsistency, and violent tensions. 95¢

See the entire DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOK line at your bookstore, or write for complete list to:

DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOKS—Dept. AHR

575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

HUMANISTIC AND POLITICAL LITERATURE IN FLORENCE AND VENICE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE QUATTROCENTO

HANS BARON's literary detective work shows that, contrary to traditional opinion, the political writings of the humanists in the generations after Petrarch were substantially influenced by actual political conditions. His book sheds new light on the interrelations between thought and political experience in the early Italian Renaissance. \$4.75

SHIPWRECK AND EMPIRE

Being an Account of Portuguese Maritime Disasters
in a Century of Decline

By *JAMES DUFFY*. Against a background of Portuguese expansion to the East, the author tells the story of disaster at sea as it appears in the shipwreck narratives of the period. These stories of bravery and folly reveal in their tragic and intimate detail the high drama of maritime catastrophe—and chronicle the decline and fall of an empire. \$4.00

TWO JAMAICAS

By *PHILIP CURTIN*. When the idea of emancipation entered the slave plantation society of the 19th-century Jamaica, explosion was bound to result. Here is the vivid story of events and ideas surrounding that explosion. Here, too, are the people—the *planters*, friendly, courageous, bigoted, hard-living men . . . torn between the reform ideas coming from their native England and the slave agriculture to which they were so thoroughly committed; the *Blacks*, their Afro-Christian faith composed almost equally of religion and magic, to whom freedom was a matter of Christian promise; and the *colored people*, descendants of dark women and white fathers, for whom alone Jamaica was really home. The Jamaican struggle to establish a workable free society was a failure, but in it we can see and evaluate the complex problems of racial conflict we have faced—and are still struggling to solve. Illustrated. \$4.75



Through your bookseller, or from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

TANUMA OKITSUGU (1719-1788)

Forerunner of Modern Japan

By JOHN WHITNEY HALL. Tanuma Okitsugu's meteoric rise from mere page to feudal lord was accomplished by unscrupulous political manipulations; yet he introduced liberal policies which might have brought Japan's long-time isolation to an end. His story brings out some of the major problems of the Tokugawa feudal system and analyzes the dynamic forces making for change and modernization within pre-modern Japan.

\$6.50

THE LEVELLERS

A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats: John Lilburne, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn

By JOSEPH FRANK. An absorbing narrative of the entire Leveller Movement in England and an analysis of the writings of the Levellers and of their chief allies and opponents. In the time of crisis just before the solidification of Cromwell's rule, the Leveller party sought to establish a constitutional democracy. Mr. Frank's well-documented book shows that, though these men failed to win political control, they did much to pave the way for modern Anglo-Saxon democracy.

\$5.00

MERCHANTS, FARMERS, AND RAILROADS

Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850-1887

By LEE BENSON. A scant four decades separated the passage of the New York Free Railroad Law which sweepingly endorsed *laissez-faire* and the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 which signaled its end. Mr. Benson analyzes the prime question of that period—how the profits of the free enterprise system were to be divided among merchants, farmers, railroaders, and entrepreneurs.

\$5.50



Through your bookseller, or from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

THE LETTERS OF PETER PAUL RUBENS

Translated and edited by RUTH SAUNDERS MAGURN. Here for the first time in English are all 250 extant letters from the pen of the great painter-diplomat. Among the recipients were many outstanding persons of the Seventeenth Century: the Archduchess Isabella, ruler of the Spanish Netherlands; the wily Duke of Buckingham; the renowned French scholar-collector, Peiresc. Rubens' letters sparkle with vitality and freshness and reveal the very important role he played in European diplomacy during the Thirty Years' War. 19 illustrations.

Coming October 24 \$10.00

TRAVEL AND DISCOVERY IN THE RENAISSANCE (1420-1620)

By BOIES PENROSE. "No more colorful and adventurous period of geographical exploration has thus far been experienced than that of the two centuries covered by this succinct and readable history. Mr. Penrose has done it full justice . . . He gives a vivid, authentic record, replete with amazing detail."—*American Scientist*. "Mr. Penrose writes simply and well. He handles every heroic episode in turn with a restrained enthusiasm which is highly infectious."—*Manchester Guardian*. 16 illustrations, 8 maps.

\$5.00

HARVARD GUIDE TO AMERICAN HISTORY

Now in its second large printing

Compiled by: Oscar Handlin—Arthur Meier Schlesinger—Samuel Eliot Morison—Frederick Merk—Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.—Paul Herman Buck

This impressive work is now widely accepted and used as the guide to the vast literature of the American past. "No student of American history and culture can work efficiently without having a copy in ready access; while a host of general readers will find it useful."—ALLAN NEVINS xxiv and 689 pages

\$10.00



Through your bookseller, or from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

THE RUSSIAN MARXISTS AND THE ORIGINS OF BOLSHEVISM

LEOPOLD HAIMSON's interpretive account of the 19th-century Russian revolutionary intelligentsia, of their reception of Marxism and the transformations Marxism underwent in their hands. He combines his inquiry into the emergence of Bolshevism and Menshevism with an analysis of the four men chiefly responsible for these conflicting developments—Plekhanov, Akselrod, Martov, and Lenin.

October 20 \$5.50

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET THOUGHT

Edited by ERNEST J. SIMMONS. Did the Bolshevik Revolution in fact succeed in making a clean break with the past? How "new" is Soviet culture; how original is its political, economic, and social thought; what, on the other hand, does the new regime inherit from the old? No one man could have written this impressive survey of modern Russian and Soviet intellectual history. Among the 30 contributors to this admirably organized book—all of them experts in Russian studies—are Frederick C. Barghoorn, Isaiah Berlin, Theodore Dobzhansky, Merle Fainsod, Alexander Gerschenkron, Michael Karpovich, Hans Kohn, Philip E. Mosely, Geroid T. Robinson, Ernest J. Simmons.

Coming November 4 \$7.50

THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNIST AUTOCRACY Political Opposition in the Soviet State— First Phase, 1917-1922

LEONARD SCHAPIRO "might almost be said to have been born for his task; partly Russian in origin, an Englishman by upbringing, bilingual in these languages, a lawyer by training, and a natural writer with a disciplined gift for saying exactly what he means in prose of considerable distinction. . . . The struggle of 1917-22 was in fact not a struggle between abstract forces, or even between abstract forces and a handful of supermen, but a struggle between men. . . . This indeed is how Lenin also saw the matter. For him the fundamental question was . . . 'Who . . . whom'—and the winner was the one who spotted the answer first and acted on it most vigorously. This is the prime lesson of Mr. Schapiro's book; and it needed restating, for it is still the prime lesson of Soviet politics to-day."—from the leading article in *The Times Literary Supplement*.

\$7.00



Through your bookseller, or from

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

2 very important books of the Council on Foreign Relations

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1953

BY RICHARD P. STEBBINS

With an Introduction by Grayson Kirk

• This annual volume, like the preceding volumes, reviews the events of the year in the light of historical fact rather than editorial bias. It is written for the lay reader as well as the expert. With grace, wit — and even more important — with detached scientific analysis, Richard Stebbins records 1953 — one of the most decisive years in our national history. Do you recall, for instance, that 1953 was the year that saw new administrations taking over in both the White House and the Kremlin . . . that it was the year of the Bricker Amendment, the “clean-up” of the State Department and the Foreign Service, the ousting of Mosaddeq, the unofficial attack on the information program? These are only a few of that year’s dramatically important events — ones which bear forcibly upon the history of the world today. \$5.00

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS 1954

EDITED BY PETER V. CURL

• The latest volume in the famous series presenting outstanding documentary material relating to world relations during 1954. Here, in convenient reference form, are texts of conferences — Berlin, Geneva, London, Paris, Caracas — and statements from world leaders — Churchill, Mendès-France, Nehru, Tito, Eisenhower, Dulles and Chou En-lai. Here are documents covering the settlement of the Suez dispute, the Iranian oil crisis, the American airmen held captive in Communist China, the H-Bomb experiments, the Atoms-for-Peace plan, the St. Lawrence Seaway. Here is the means for every interested reader to keep abreast of the ever-changing, always fascinating picture of America in her relationships with the world. \$5.00

At all bookstores

Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by
HARPER & BROTHERS • New York

New Holt Texts

A Diplomatic History of the United States

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. Now completely up-to-date, the new Fourth Edition of this distinguished text traces the diplomatic history of the United States from the background of American independence to the present. It incorporates new material on the Korean and Indo-China Wars, the Cold War, and the new security treaties.

The United States as a World Power, adapted from Part III of the above text, provides an excellent comprehensive treatment of contemporary foreign relations for the one-semester course.

American Political Thought

ALAN P. GRIMES. A penetrating analysis of American political thought from Puritanic backgrounds to the present, with special emphasis on the post-Civil War period.

A Gateway to the Social Sciences

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON. A stimulating book of readings applying both the historical and the problems approach to the evolution of institutions within the framework of Western society. The selections are taken from the writings of the most eminent social scientists.

The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy

Report of a Study Group sponsored jointly by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association, **WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT**, *Chairman*.

A thorough, systematic effort to formulate anew the basic assumptions, objectives, and methods of American foreign economic policy since World War II.

HENRY HOLT and CO.

New York 17

San Francisco 5



CARL BRIDENBAUGH'S

masterly studies of urban life
in the American Colonies

CITIES IN REVOLT 1743-1776

A richly documented history of the five major cities of colonial America—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and Charleston—during the crucial years preceding the Revolution. Mr. Bridenbaugh has re-created, by a brilliant synthesis of contemporary documents, the authentic temper and spirit of these young American cities, thereby producing a vast and amazingly coherent portrait of early metropolitan America. *With 19 illustrations, 455 pages.*
\$7.50

CITIES IN THE WILDERNESS 1625-1742

Long out of print, this is a key work in Colonial history that shows for the first time the importance of urban society during the early Colonial period as contrasted with rural and frontier societies. It is now reissued in a format uniform with *Cities in Revolt*. 500 pages.
\$6.75

At your bookstores

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

LIPPINCOTT

New in 1955—

AMERICAN ISSUES—Volume 1—The Social Record **Revised and enlarged**

by Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker

Key readings and informative headnotes in American Social history—revised to include many important post-World War II documents . . .

New in 1954—

AMERICAN ISSUES—Volume 2—The Literary Record **Revised and enlarged**

by Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker

An excellent anthology of all types of American letters many of which are directed toward the very issues described in Volume 1 . . .

READINGS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION—Revised

by George Knoles and Rixford Snyder

A wealth of source material for courses in European History of the Humanities . . .

RUSSIA: A History

by Sidney Harcave

The Russian History which is comprehensible to the undergraduate student . . .

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCE

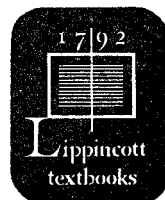
(Personality-Work-Community) Teachers Manual available

by Arthur Naftalin, Benjamin N. Nelson, Mulford Q. Sibley, Donald W. Calhoun, and Andreas G. Papandreou

The scholarly collection of readings in the various social sciences which gives the student an understanding of his world of institutions, ideas, and values . . .

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

333 West Lake Street - Chicago 6, Illinois
East Washington Square - Philadelphia 5, Pa.



The

AMERICAN STORY

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

Dartmouth College

DAVID F. LONG

University of New Hampshire

McGRAW-HILL SERIES IN HISTORY**Here is a vivid re-creation of the American Story.**

In fusing social—including economic and intellectual—history with the more traditional emphasis on the political story the authors succeed in weaving all the strands of American history into a more meaningful and understandable pattern.

It is a full and fascinating description of American life, its culture, its relationship with the rest of the world, and the personalities who have played a significant role in the growth of the United States since its discovery.

**VOLUME I
YOUTH****528 pages, \$6.00**

Covers the period from early exploration to 1877. It carries the American story through the political reconstruction following the Civil War. The colonial period, in a relatively brief treatment, presents background material for later developments. The entire volume achieves a balanced narrative, showing the development of a distinctive American culture, with its various complex interrelationships.

**VOLUME II
MATURITY****544 pages, \$6.00**

Continues the national story of the United States from 1877 to the present, but with some earlier connections, since social, economic, and intellectual patterns are even more difficult to divide into neat chronological packages than are the political and diplomatic. The basic trends are the development of an industrialized, urban, high speed civilization, and of increasing participation and leadership in world affairs. There are, however, many cross-currents clearly visible.

An Instructor's Manual, to accompany the text, is now in press.

SEND FOR COPIES ON APPROVAL

**McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC.****330 West 42nd Street****New York 36, N. Y.**

TWO SUPERB TEXTS

FOR SURVEY HISTORY COURSES

World Civilizations

By EDWARD McNALL BURNS, Rutgers University
and PHILIP L. RALPH, Lake Erie College

For the introductory history course or the basic history course in general education that aims at a broad world view of man's struggles and achievements from earliest times to the present. Stemming from and enlarging on Professor Burns's highly successful **Western Civilizations**, this new two-volume text gives thorough treatment to every major region of the globe, pointing up particularly the increasingly important roles played by Asia and the Americas in the present age.

Maps Illustrations Chronological Tables Index Bibliography
Vol. I: 588 pages Vol. II: 614 pages Price, \$4.50 per volume

Western Civilizations

Fourth Edition

By EDWARD McNALL BURNS, Rutgers University

For the beginning history course or the basic history course in general education that stresses the intellectual, social and cultural development of the Western World. It presents in a single volume a balanced account of the history of our civilization from the earliest preliterate cultures to the present. The fourth edition, published in 1954, encompasses not only a fresh appraisal of the most recent developments but a general revision and reorganization of many of the materials throughout the entire book.

Index	Illustrations	Maps
960 pages	Chronological Tables	Price, \$6.50

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, INC.

55 Fifth Avenue

New York 3, N. Y.

New OXFORD historical studies

Benjamin Henry Latrobe

by TALBOT HAMLIN. As America's first great architect, Latrobe occupies a unique place in history. His papers—letters, journals and sketchbooks—form the basis of this first full-length biography. Because Latrobe's commissions included the Virginia State Capitol, the south wing of the national Capitol, the White House and other important buildings, he came into contact with many prominent figures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This biography is a valuable contribution to American cultural history. *Illustrated; color frontispiece.*

\$15.00

1848: Story of a Year

by RAYMOND POSTGATE. A day by day account of one of history's most eventful years, marking important, and sometimes humorous events the world over. Mr. Postgate's review of the year encompasses revolutions, the gold rush, a sea-serpent sighting, the slave trade, the adventures of one Augustus Egg, and just about everything of definite—and dubious—significance. The result is a book both historically serious and generally entertaining. *Illustrated.*

\$4.75

Survey of International Affairs The Realignment of Europe. 1939-1946

edited by ARNOLD TOYNBEE and VERONICA M. TOYNBEE. This volume deals with the political and territorial reshaping of Europe after the retreat of the German armies. Among the specific developments discussed are the emergence of new regimes from the political vacuum left by the war, the beginnings of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, and the start of political reconstruction in Western Europe.

\$14.00

American Colonial Documents to 1776 Volume IX, English Historical Documents

edited by MERRILL JENSEN. Original texts, hitherto available only in many scattered works, provide a comprehensive picture of pre-revolutionary America. The documents assembled for this volume illustrate the relationship between the Thirteen Colonies and England, and trace the evolution of the conflict which led to revolution. The amount of available material necessitates selectivity, and the purpose of this volume is to illustrate broad areas of Colonial relations, rather than to detail any single topic.

\$12.80

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, Inc.

114 Fifth Avenue, New York 11



A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

By CRANE BRINTON, Harvard University;
JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER, University of Rochester; and
ROBERT LEE WOLFF, Harvard University

Briefly, yet in adequate detail, this new two-volume treatment examines the roots of our twentieth-century civilization. The authors coordinate cultural and intellectual history with social, economic, and political developments. They bring the student close to the people and the times they describe by quoting frequently and at length from original contemporary sources,

often making their own translations in order to preserve the freshness of the accounts. *A History of Civilization* will serve both as a textbook and as a book of readings from the sources.

The authors employ the selective principle throughout, believing that a few examples, fully and relevantly developed, are worth more than dozens of meaningless names.

Volume I (prehistory to 1715): 686 pp., 7" x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", April 1955

Volume II (1715 to the present): 722 pp., 7" x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", April 1955

A HISTORY OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

By JULIUS W. PRATT, Samuel P. Capen Professor of American History, University of Buffalo

Clearly and comprehensively, this new text studies American foreign policy from 1775 to the end of 1954. The author emphasizes the aims and instruments of diplomacy, military policy as related to foreign policy, and the underlying principles that

have guided the government of the United States in its foreign relations.

The basic pattern of the text is chronological, but within the chronological framework many aspects of foreign policy are treated topically.

832 pages

6" x 9"

Published April, 1955

THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD SEA POWER

Edited by E. B. POTTER

Here is the first American naval history to place U. S. naval operations within their proper historic settings. *The United States and World Sea Power* is more than a mere operational history—it carefully analyzes the interrelationships between technological developments and the relatively unchanging elements of naval strat-

egy, between land warfare and naval operations, and between national policy and naval doctrine. The emergence of the United States as the world's foremost naval power is treated not as an isolated phenomenon but as the product of slow evolution within the framework of world history.

976 pages

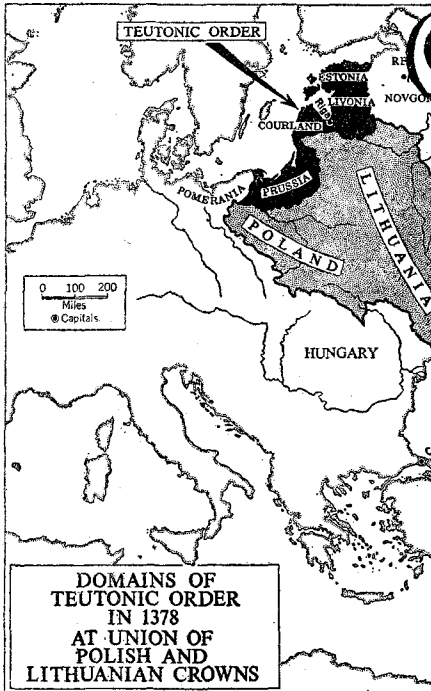
7" x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Published June, 1955

For approval copies write



PRENTICE-HALL, Inc. 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.



TWO of the 165 maps (much reduced here) especially drawn by an expert cartographer for

THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST

by *Stewart C. Easton*

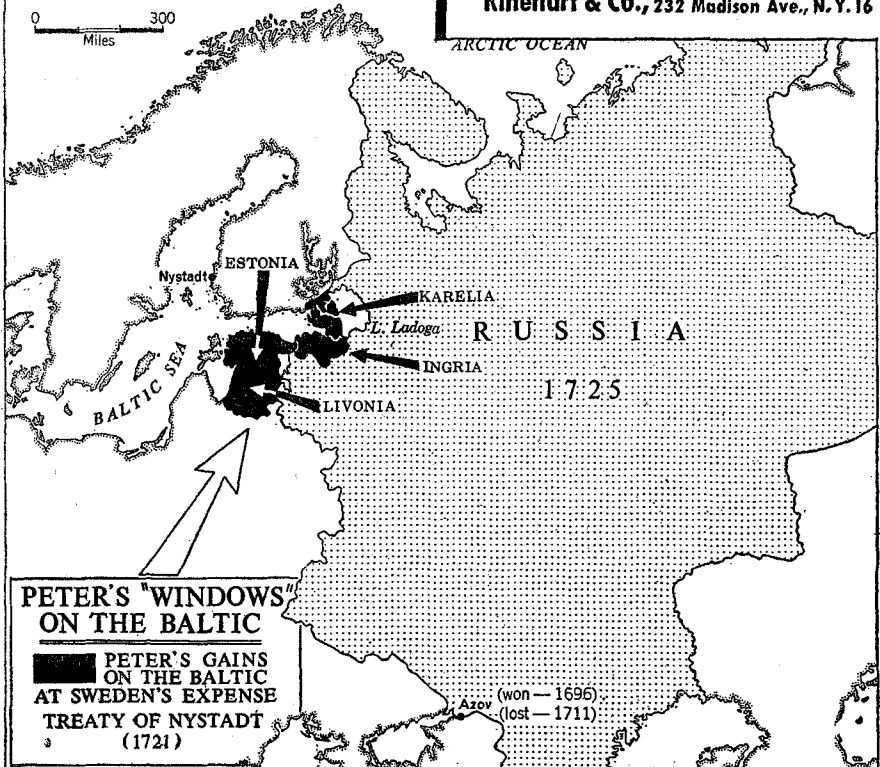
and

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

by *Richard M. Brace*

These maps are only one of the many unexcelled features in this new history of civilization—already being hailed by teachers across the country as “a joy to the serious student” and “a beautiful job.” You will find both of these volumes highly rewarding texts for your classes.

Rinehart & Co., 232 Madison Ave., N. Y. 16



**The Ambiguous Legacy:
MARX AND THE MARXISTS**

SIDNEY HOOK traces the main streams of Marxist traditions, examining the chief issues which have divided Marxists from non-Marxists—and Marxists from each other. A concise introduction to Marxism in conflicting theory and practice.



4

**NATIONALISM: Its Meaning
and History**

HANS KOHN presents the first brief history of nationalism from its beginnings to the present day, covering both nationalism's world-wide status today and its historical background.

New

**MODERN JAPAN:
A Brief History**

ARTHUR TIEDEMANN offers a brief but balanced account of Japan through the last hundred years, with emphasis on internal political developments, Japan's role in world affairs, and the changing economy.

**Anvil
Books**

\$1.25 each

**FIFTY MAJOR
DOCUMENTS OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY**

LOUIS L. SNYDER has collected official documents, contemporary accounts and eye-witness descriptions which provide dramatic insight into the nineteenth century.

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.

120 Alexander Street

Princeton, New Jersey



History and the Social Web: A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS

By AUGUST C. KREY. A distinguished historian demonstrates that the events and societies of past eras and modern times form a complex and interlocking pattern when seen as one broad canvas. \$4.00

Political Prairie Fire: THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, 1915-1922

By ROBERT L. MORLAN. The first detailed, unbiased history of the last of the great agrarian protest movements. \$5.75

Red Scare: A STUDY IN NATIONAL HYSTERIA, 1919-1920

By ROBERT K. MURRAY. A dramatic account of the wave of fear that swept the United States after World War I. Illustrated. \$4.75

The Catholics and German Unity 1866-1871

By GEORGE G. WINDELL. "A closely written, detailed account of the role of Catholicism in the politics of building the German Empire."—*Annals*. \$5.00

A Bibliography on South American Economic Affairs

By TOM B. JONES, ELIZABETH ANNE WARBURTON and ANNE KINGSLEY. Articles in nineteenth-century periodicals. \$5.50

BACK IN PRINT BY DEMAND

The Populist Revolt By JOHN D. HICKS. \$6.00

The Day of the Cattleman By ERNEST S. OSGOOD. \$4.50

FORTHCOMING

Land of Their Choice: THE IMMIGRANTS WRITE HOME

By THEODORE C. BLEGEN. \$5.75

Whoop-Up Country: THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN WEST, 1865-1885

By PAUL F. SHARP. \$5.00

At your bookstore, or from **THE UNIVERSITY
OF MINNESOTA PRESS**, Minneapolis 14, Minn.

YALE BOOKS

CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM: The First Five Years

Richard L. Walker

"A superior work of scholarship that endeavors to portray life in China during its first five years under Mao Tse-tung and his associates." *New Yorker* "Must be read by those who wish to have a solidly based opinion on China's policy." *New York Times*

Second Printing \$4.50

SCIENCE AND THE COURSE OF HISTORY

Pascual Jordan

An eminent European physicist offers a remarkable account of man's place in the universe, showing the need for more emphasis on the far-reaching effects of scientific and technological developments in shaping the course of history.

\$2.50

USE AND ABUSE OF HISTORY

Pieter Geyl

In this succinct analysis of the philosophy and methods of history, this noted Dutch historian examines the prevailing concepts of history and the new "awareness of distance" from the past that was lacking in the earlier historians. This important study of the historical point of view is based on the author's recent Terry Lectures.

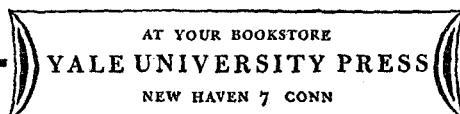
\$2.50

MAINSPRINGS OF THE GERMAN REVIVAL

Henry C. Wallich

In the space of ten years, a defeated and prostrate country has produced one of the strongest and soundest economies in Europe. Professor Wallich analyzes the factors and controls operating to produce the recovery, and shows how they were helped by political and economic events outside of Germany.

\$4.50



CIVILIZATION— PAST AND PRESENT

T. WALTER WALLBANK ALASTAIR M. TAYLOR

VOLUME I, Third Edition From the beginnings of civilization through the discovery and conquest of the New World, Paleolithic Era to 1650 A.D.

644 pages

\$5.00 list

VOLUME II, Third Edition From the beginnings of the modern era to the present time.

669 pages

\$5.00 list

STUDY GUIDES, STUDYING CIVILIZATION

Volumes I and II, Third Edition

Each approximately 225 pages \$1.50 each, list

Instructor's TEST ITEMS available for both volumes.

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY

Chicago

Atlanta

Dallas

New York

Palo Alto

A SHORT HISTORY OF MEDICINE

ERWIN H. ACKERKNECHT, M.D., The University of Wisconsin Medical School

Just Published. Based on the author's deep study and personal acquaintance with original sources, this survey presents each of the major trends in the history of medicine, interprets its application for modern practice, and brings out its significance in terms of scientific, sociological, and economic developments. Ideally suited for use as a textbook, the work discusses major achievements, the men who made them possible, and the other salient facts of medical history. Emphasizing the great strides made since 1800, it gives a balanced coverage to surgery and internal medicine, clinical treatment, preventive measures, medical practice and the scientific discoveries on which it is based. *31 ills., 258 pp.* **\$4.50**

• THE EVOLUTION OF CHEMISTRY

EDUARD FARBER, Ph.D.

Throughout this scholarly chronicle of chemistry's origins and history, Dr. Farber provides the means for a richer understanding of the concepts and methods of chemistry by integrating its evolution with progress made in other sciences and philosophies. Covers the subject from alchemy to current investigations into the nature of matter, radioactivity, and biochemistry. "... *a most useful and stimulating book.*" *Science.* *30 ills., 349 pp.* **\$6**

THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY • 15 East 26th St., N. Y. 10

The classic study of Russian intellectual history.

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA

Studies in History, Literature and Philosophy

By T. G. MASARYK

Edited by J. SLAVIK

This is a revised edition of Dr. T. G. Masaryk's classic work on Russian intellectual history, first published by Macmillan in 1919. For the revised edition, Dr. Slavik has greatly expanded the bibliography and added, with the late Dr. Masaryk's consent, two chapters bringing the material up to 1929.

Two Volumes

Revised and enlarged

\$14.00 the set

The Macmillan Company

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

Gregory Lounz Books

SPECIALIZING IN
EUROPEAN
HISTORY

—O—

11 EAST 45 STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

—O—

Kindly Ask For Catalogs
and
Send Your Want Lists

*A timely and perceptive
evaluation of world
Christianity today*

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE'S Challenge AND Conformity

America's most eminent church historian debates the current thesis that we are in a "post-Christian" era, discusses basic issues throughout the world and reaches conclusions that are strikingly vigorous and challenging. "An immense amount of valuable information and incisive appraisal."—*Religious Book Club*.

At your bookstore • \$1.75
HARPER & BROTHERS
N. Y. 16

These successful texts by three noted historians are being brought thoroughly up to date to include discussions of the latest developments and trends . . .

HISTORY OF EUROPE

REVISED EDITION

By CARLTON J. H. HAYES, Emeritus Professor of History, Columbia University; MARSHALL W. BALDWIN, Associate Professor, New York University; and CHARLES W. COLE, President of Amherst College.

About the first edition:

"This work should prove popular with both students and professors who are concerned with the study of introductory college courses in general European history. In their foreword the authors declare that they have taken care to make the work readable, attractive, and accurate. To the mind of the reviewer they have succeeded admirably in doing so. Within the space of a thousand-plus pages the complete story of European history is related beginning with a consideration of the Ancient Near East down to, and including, the cleavage between Russia and the Western Powers. The omission of a welter of details does not impair in the slightest the clarity and completeness with which the record of Europe is recounted. The major, and really important, details of ancient, medieval, and modern histories of Europe and European nations are presented in an orderly, readable, lucid fashion. The authors have produced an excellent work of synthetization. The volume possesses a sobriety and balanced objectivity in the narration of centuries-long controverted happenings." from *The Historical Bulletin*

VOLUME I. *To 1648*, will appear in a new format

VOLUME II. *Since 1648*, will be revised and brought up to date, in a new format

The *one-volume edition* will be revised with the latter part of the text brought up to date, in a new format

HISTORY OF EUROPE: Since 1500

By CARLTON J. H. HAYES and CHARLES W. COLE

Part of Volume I of *History of Europe* by Hayes, Baldwin and Cole is here combined with Volume II to make a text for courses in modern European history.

This volume is being revised to bring it up to date in a new format. The changes will be in the latter half of the book and a new chapter will be added to cover recent events.

Watch for these important revisions in 1956

The Macmillan Company

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

"Professor Stewart's book will fill a place that no other has ever quite occupied . . . it is doubtful whether any other American scholar either would or could have brought it to so successful a conclusion"

says R. R. PALMER, Princeton University,
in *The American Historical Review*

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By JOHN HALL STEWART

A combined text and source book, this volume contains 170 primary source materials in English—translations of important proclamations, constitutions, statutes, treatises and speeches meaningfully placed in their proper context to document the story of the French Revolution. Chapter and section notes provide a summary analysis of the period as a whole, and by reading the documents the essential facts can be amplified with the raw material of history.

1951

818 pages

\$6.00

" . . . the high praise bestowed on the book as a whole is well justified . . . clarity of exposition remains among the major merits of the book . . . the breadth and depth of thought which have gone into the work are well illustrated"

says W. L. WOODFILL, Princeton University,
in *The Historian*

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Revised Edition

By FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM

An informative and well-proportioned introduction to the history of the English nation and British peoples, this text is distinguished by its careful emphasis on economic, social, and cultural history. Its presentation of facts, accompanied by keen comment and scholarly interpretation, makes it highly attractive for the undergraduate course in English history.

1950

874 pages

\$5.75

The Macmillan Company

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Social Forces in the Middle East

Edited by SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER, Ohio State University

The Middle East in transition is presented by sixteen men who are thoroughly conversant with this area, under the able editorship of Professor Sydney Fisher. Nomads, villagers, Israeli farmers, industrial workers, merchants and entrepreneurs, army officials, intellectuals, and other social classes are discussed in the various chapters, with emphasis upon contemporary situation, conflicting loyalties and outlooks. Overall trends of the Middle East are also presented.

298 pages, 4 maps. \$5.00

Nationalization in France and Italy

By MARIO EINAUDI, Professor of Government, Cornell University; MAURICE BYÉ, French economist and member of the faculty of the University of Paris; and ERNESTO ROSSI, Italian political journalist and government administrator

Scholars in this country can learn much from this account of the experience of France and Italy in government control of industry during past years. In this study, Professor Einaudi opens by discussing the issues of nationalization within the larger framework of the Western community; the other two authors get down to cases in their informed accounts of nationalization as it has actually worked out in their respective countries.

270 pages. \$3.50

The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement 1807-1819

By WALTER J. SIMON, Assistant Professor of History, Cornell University

In this examination of the failure of the Stein-Hardenberg reform movement of the nineteenth century, the author discusses the forces that doomed the movement to frustration. This first systematic account of the opposition to the Stein-Hardenberg reform movement shows how the failure of the movement was a turning point in the history of Germany and influenced later events.

284 pages, \$4.00

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York

<i>Małowist</i> , STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW RZEMIOSŁA, by M. K. Dziewanowski	105
<i>Paszkiewicz</i> , THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA, by Roman Jakobson	106
<i>Popper</i> , HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D., by Franz Rosenthal	108

Modern European History

<i>Gough</i> , FUNDAMENTAL LAW IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, by C. H. McIlwain	109
<i>Armstrong</i> , ROBERT ESTIENNE, ROYAL PRINTER, by William F. Church	111
<i>Rex</i> , UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATION IN ENGLAND, 1604-90, by Mary Frear Keeler	112
<i>Haller</i> , LIBERTY AND REFORMATION IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, by Harold Hulme	113
<i>Mossner</i> , THE LIFE OF DAVID HUME; <i>Klibansky</i> and <i>Mossner</i> , NEW LETTERS OF DAVID HUME, by George H. Sabine	114
<i>Lewis, et al.</i> , HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR HORACE MANN, I-III, by Dora Mac Clark	116
<i>McKenzie</i> , BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES, by James L. Godfrey	117
<i>Havens</i> , THE AGE OF IDEAS; <i>Stoye</i> , VINCENT BERNARD DE TSCHARNER, by Arthur M. Wilson	118
DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS, 2e Série, XII, by Sidney B. Fay	120
<i>Farmer</i> , VICHY, by Donald C. McKay	121
<i>Ritter</i> , STAATSKUNST UND KRIEGSHANDWERK, by Gordon A. Craig	122
<i>de Terra</i> , HUMBOLDT, by Gerhard Masur	124
<i>Windell</i> , THE CATHOLICS AND GERMAN UNITY, by Carlton J. H. Hayes	126
<i>Schorfke</i> , GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1905-17, by Raymond J. Sontag	127
<i>Coper</i> , FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION, by Reginald H. Phelps	128
<i>Baumont, et al.</i> , THE THIRD REICH, by Robert G. L. Waite	129
<i>de Rosa</i> , STORIA POLITICA DELL'AZIONE CATTOLICA IN ITALIA, by George T. Romani	131
<i>Ernstberger</i> , HANS DE WITTE, FINANZMANN WALLENSTEINS, by Hans Rosenberg	132
<i>Kukiel</i> , CZARTORYSKI AND EUROPEAN UNITY, by John H. Gleason	133
<i>Treadgold</i> , LENIN AND HIS RIVALS, by George V. Lantzeff	134
<i>Schramm-von Thadden</i> , GRIECHENLAND UND DIE GROSSMÄCHTE IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG, by Fritz T. Epstein	136

Far Eastern History

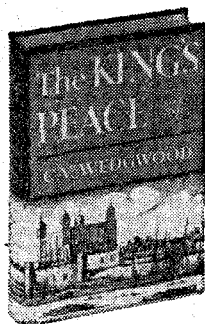
<i>Fairbank and Banno</i> , JAPANESE STUDIES OF MODERN CHINA, by Hilary Conroy	137
--	-----

American History

<i>Handlin</i> , CHANCE OR DESTINY, by Roy F. Nichols	138
<i>Wyllie</i> , THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICA, by Louis B. Wright	139
<i>Hartz</i> , THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICA, by George E. Mowry	140
<i>Brogan</i> , POLITICS IN AMERICA, by Eric F. Goldman	142
<i>Bailyn</i> , THE NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Byron Fairchild	143
<i>Melville</i> , JOHN CARROLL OF BALTIMORE, by Charles A. Barker	144
<i>Cotterill</i> , THE SOUTHERN INDIANS, by Lawrence Kinnaird	145
<i>Williams</i> , P. G. T. BEAUREGARD, by Frank L. Owsley	146
<i>Barker</i> , HENRY GEORGE, by Ray Ginger	147
<i>Murray</i> , RED SCARE, by Selig Adler	148
THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES, II, III, by Walter Johnson	150
<i>Dulles</i> , AMERICA'S RISE TO WORLD POWER, by Thomas A. Bailey	151
<i>Whitaker</i> , THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA, by Charles C. Griffin	152
<i>Wade</i> , THE FRENCH CANADIANS, by John S. Galbraith	153

This journal is unable as a rule to review textbooks and works of current discussion.

THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA



THE KING'S PEACE 1637-1641

By C. V. WEDGWOOD

The brilliant English historian, C. V. Wedgwood, has been at work for many years on her most ambitious work—the tremendous story of the Great Rebellion which cost Charles I his life and turned England into a republic. This fascinating and important volume completes the first act of that historic drama. It vividly relates the stirring events of the four years which preceded the Civil War, years which transformed Charles's peaceful dominions into a land torn with mistrust and menaced by fire and sword. The thrilling episodes in the mounting tragedy are narrated with superb skill: the uprising of the Scottish Covenanters under such leaders as the gallant Montrose and the mysterious Argyll; John Pym's shrewd direction of Parliament in defiance of the King; the terrible fate of Strafford and its link with the bloody Irish insurrection.

While Miss Wedgwood gives careful consideration to the familiar religious, political, and economic elements in the struggle, her intention is not so much to analyze the causes of the Civil War as to reveal how the men and women of the time thought and felt, and, why, in their own estimations, they acted as they did. Miss Wedgwood shows remarkable objectivity throughout—as she seeks to understand the sources of human error and misjudgment, she respects truth and nobility in any of the factions.

The noted historian, A. L. Rowse, has commented: "Miss Wedgwood has written a superb book. . . . If she goes on like this she is going to achieve one of the historical masterpieces of her generation and our time."

10 full page illustrations

\$5.50

The Macmillan Company

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.